

Where now for
the far-right?
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Unison President
on HOPE not hate
FEATURE p 46

HOPE not hate

Providing a positive
antidote to hate
and intolerance

September-
October 2012
Issue no. 4
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Trade unions and racism

New TUC General Secretary Frances O'Grady on the tasks ahead



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HOPE not hate

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An uncomfortable truth

Over the last few weeks we have been reminded of the threat of far right terrorism and violence. First there was the shooting of seven people at a Sikh temple in the US state of Wisconsin by a prominent figure in the white supremacist movement, then there was the 'sane' verdict in the trial of Anders Behring Breivik, in Norway. In between we had the arrest, in Prague, of a man who police claimed was stockpiling weapons in a bid to copy the Norwegian mass murder.

Unfortunately, these incidents are only likely to encourage racists and fascists across the globe to commit their own acts of violence. As we reveal on page 13, there are plenty of far right activists in Britain who supported what Breivik did while there will be other right wing commentators, such as French writer Richard Millet, who try to justify or explain Breivik's actions by blaming immigration and multiculturalism.

In this issue of *HOPE not hate* we give our view of where the far right is heading. While it is currently fragmented and dispirited the economic and social conditions over the next few years are likely to be favourable for them. While the British National Party and UK Independence Party slug it out at the ballot box we are also likely to witness an increase in racial violence and religious tensions. Although the Olympics proved that most people in Britain are comfortable with our modern multicultural society, there are still many who are not. And, unfortunately, as we conclude in our article on the future of the far-right, in many ways we are in a worst position than we were in 2001, when race riots tore Oldham, Burnley and Bradford apart.

Part of this is because of the Internet and its increasing role in radicalising, encouraging and directing extremism. Breivik was a 'Lone Wolf' who largely self-radicalised on the Internet. With his computer he was able to access a worldview that confirmed his own prejudices. Through the internet he

was able to buy the parts to make his bombs. And it was via the internet he was eventually to upload his 'Manifesto' which of course he hopes will encourage others to follow suit.

It is not just the far-right who are making use of the internet. In an article on the convictions of Mohammed and Shasta Khan, Mark Gardner reports on how Al Qaeda are increasingly using the internet to encourage their supporters to self-organise.

With the threat coming from all quarters there can be no room for complacency in the fight against extremism. This is especially true for the political parties, who appear to have forgotten the need to address the issues which gave rise to the BNP now that the far-right party is imploding, and for the Home Office and police, who continue to dismiss the threat posed by far-right extremism in general and specifically the English Defence League.

Celebrating who we are

For most of us the Olympic Games was a fantastic break from the daily grind of life. It was an opportunity to enjoy world class sport, attend a music or cultural festival or exhibition and generally feel good about life. It also gave us a chance to celebrate modern, diverse Britain.

And unsurprisingly, the vast majority of Britain's felt quite comfortable with this.

We will not always have the focus of the Olympics to put on such a show but we can and should be celebrating 'our Britain' whenever possible. Of course Britain has problems, and racism and prejudice is still rife, but we are probably the most multicultural and integrated society in Europe and this is something we should celebrate.

Welcome

On page 44 we interview Frances O'Grady, the General Secretary elect of the TUC. She is the first woman to have this job and we look forward to working with her and the wider union movement over the coming years.

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AMERICAN ISLAMOPHobe OFFERS TO BANKROLL EDL CAMPAIGN

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MARK GARDNER ON THE INTERNET'S 'LONE WOLVES'

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OWEN JONES ON DELIVERING HOPE IN DUDLEY

HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and 50,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises Searchlight Information Services and our charitable wing, the Searchlight Educational Trust.

www.hopenothate.org.uk



**HOPE
not hate**

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Rob Ford is a Hallsworth Research Fellow at Manchester University. In *Is The Future UKIP?* Rob suggests that UKIP could be the main right wing threat in the future at the expense of both the BNP and the Conservative Party.



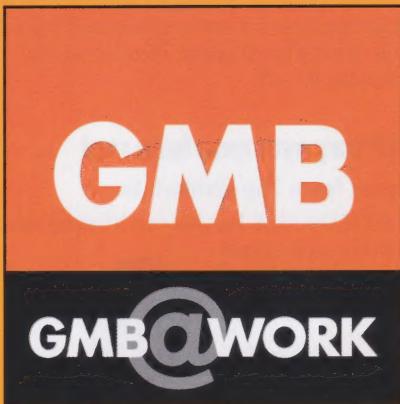
CHRIS TANSLEY

Chris Tansley was elected the new President of the trade union Unison in June. In *Why I Choose HOPE not hate* Chris explains why he picked HOPE not hate as his Presidential Charity of the Year and why anti-racism is needed more than ever.



FRANCES O'GRADY

Frances O'Grady is General Secretary elect of the Trade Union Congress. In *The Last Word* Frances outlines her priorities and voices her concern that economic hardship could lead to rising racism.



Fraternal greetings
to all TUC delegates
Brighton 2012



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National Front planning to protest 'once a month' at proposed Sunderland Mosque

Report from Sky Tyne & Wear

MEMBERS OF THE National Front (NF) are planning to protest once a month at the site of a proposed new city centre mosque.

The NF demonstrated against the building of a mosque in St Mark's Road in Sunderland in August.

Police were forced to separate the protesters and anti-fascist groups as tensions heightened in front of worried residents.

Gary Duncan, speaking on behalf of the anti-fascists, said: "It doesn't matter what they say is the reason they are against the mosque, it is all about racism and that is it. They are not complaining about the church down the road."

Keighley residents praised for restraint during EDL protest

Report from Asian Image

COMMUNITY LEADERS have praised residents in Keighley for showing restraint after a demonstration by the English Defence League in the town passed without serious incident.

Around 150 members of the far-right group gathered on Church Green to condemn allegations of sexual grooming of white girls by Asian men.

The event in August was planned after police made ten arrests across Bradford district – the majority in Keighley – of men suspected of grooming a 14-year-old girl.

Around 100 officers, including mounted police, were positioned around the green to stop the demonstration spilling into other parts of the town centre.

Some of the EDL supporters were understood to have met in Bradford city centre before heading to Keighley. A group of men chanted in the street near Centenary Square.

Once at the green in Keighley, EDL

members chanted, shouted and waved banners. Several attempts were made to surge through police barriers and batons were drawn by officers. Two fireworks were also let off.

MSP fury over race hate rant

Report from The Scottish Sun

A MUSLIM MSP has hit out at yobs who hurled racist abuse at him – and then reported HIM to cops.

Humza Yousaf was targeted by far-right activists as he joined some of Glasgow's top officers on a police tour of the city.

The Scots-born politician was told to "go back home" and branded an "Islamic fascist" at a demo by the British National Party and the Scottish Defence League.

But incredibly it was Mr Yousaf who was reported to cops – for wearing a police jacket.

The SNP man said: "I was on a tour with officers, including the assistant chief constable, to see how the Orange parade is policed.

"In order for us to be recognisable to the police they issued us with high-visibility jackets.

"But when we came across the BNP and SDL things turned nasty. The aggressive reaction shows the level of hatred these fascists have for anyone who looks different."

Strathclyde Police confirmed they had received a complaint accusing Mr Yousaf of impersonating a police officer.

A spokeswoman added: "The demo was closed down under public order legislation."



Humza Yousaf MSP

Girl, 7, cowered as woman hurled racist abuse at her mum

Report from News & Star

THE SEVEN-YEAR-OLD daughter of a Pakistani woman lay curled up on a bed as a neighbour yelled racist abuse at her mother, a court heard.

The frightening incident in the Cumbrian village of Warcop in July led to a Carlisle court appearance for the family's neighbour, 35-year-old Deborah Flannigan.

She admitted a single offence of racially aggravated harassment.

Prosecutor Pam Ward described how the victim, Furzana Garrett, agreed to write a character reference for Flannigan to help her overcome contact problems with her child.

But in the following months the defendant's behaviour began to get worse and after drinking she began to get abusive.

As a result, Mrs Garrett retracted her witness statement, said Mrs Ward.

On 20 July, Flannigan began banging on her neighbour's back door, and yelled racist abuse at her.

Flannigan was given bail at an address in Oldham and told she must not go back to Warcop.

Racial abuse pair banned from Bulwell newsagents for five years

Report from the Nottingham Post

TWO MEN who subjected a "decent and hardworking" Asian family to a torrent of abuse have been sent to jail and banned from their shop.

Stefan Davis and Kelvin Barratt were locked up for ten months and told not to go within 200 metres of the family's newsagents in Bulwell for five years.

The men began their harassment at 7 o'clock one Monday morning as the family unloaded stock outside their newsagent's in Bulwell.

Barratt, 25, of the Crabtree Farm Estate in Bulwell, pulled a knife as he delivered

Wirral hotel bosses tricked into hosting BNP and European fascist event

Report from Wirral Globe

A TOP WIRRAL hotel says it was "tricked" into hosting an event for far-right activists.

Thornton Hall Hotel and Spa said bosses did not know leading members

of the BNP and the French National Front party were among those attending a conference there on in July.

They said that by the time the guests' identities were revealed it was too late

to cancel the booking.

The hotel's comments come after HOPE not hate campaigned against the event via Facebook, while some took to Twitter to vent their anger.

Chester and Cheshire West Labour councillor Ben Powell tweeted: "Saddened that Nick Griffin and his fascist pals from across Europe are gathered at Thornton Hall Hotel on the Wirral."

A hotel spokeswoman said staff did not know the booking, which was made on behalf of the European Social Political and Economic Research Establishment, would involve members of the BNP and fascist parties.



European fascists at the Thornton Hall Hotel. Most are well known BNP activists. Also Bruno Gollnisch from the French National and Marc Abramsson from the Swedish far right National Democrats. Abramsson was sentenced in 2004 at the Stockholm City Court to prison for aggravated assault and rioting. Gollnisch is a convicted Holocaust denier.

an onslaught of foul remarks and words.

He asked one "what religion are you?" and she replied "what does that matter?"

He replied: "Because I'm EDL (English Defence League)".

Nottingham Crown Court heard how they returned later that day, on 16 April, and continued their racial abuse.

Both men admitted racially aggravated harassment and using threatening words or behaviour. Barratt additionally pleaded guilty to having the knife.

Youths assaulted at Hull's Paragon Station by man 'wearing EDL top'

Report from *Hull Daily Mail*

BRITISH TRANSPORT POLICE are appealing for witnesses after several youths were assaulted at Paragon Station.

The large group were at the front of the station at about 6.30pm on Saturday 15 July when a man wearing a Grimsby English Defence League (EDL) top launched an assault on them.

British Transport Police officers are asking anyone who was in or around the station at the time to contact them if they saw anything.

One of the investigating officers, Detective Constable Bob Hunt, said: "A large group of youths were at the front of the station when they were approached by a man, who we believe then began to randomly throw punches at members of the group... Any information given will be treated in the strictest confidence."

Anyone with information should call British Transport Police on 0800 405040.

British National Party supporter attacks former girlfriend

by Simon Cressy

A BNP SUPPORTER pleaded guilty in July to assaulting his ex-partner at their home in Dewsbury, West Yorkshire.

Shaun Carter appeared at Kirklees Magistrates Court after he admitted assaulting Susan Purdy in the Thornhill area of Dewsbury in August 2011.

Prosecutor Marina Hunter-Grey told the court that Carter threw a child's toy at a window causing it to smash and attacked Susan Purdy as she played outside with her children.

She added "Miss Purdy was sitting on a rug with the children when he kicked out towards her face, with a friend pushing him away."

Carter told Purdy "This isn't over and he was going to smash her face in if he ever saw her again."

He then grabbed his former partner from behind and kicked her in the back.

Shaun Carter was ordered to pay £338 for the broken window, £75 compensation and £150 costs.

Magistrates also imposed a two year restraining order which prevents Carter from contacting Susan Purdy or going to her house.

English Defence League gang guilty of religious abuse at Middlesbrough railway station

Report from the *Middlesbrough Gazette*

SIX MEN WITH links to the English Defence League have been convicted of chanting a sickening torrent of religious abuse.

The men shouted a highly inflammatory religious chant at Middlesbrough railway station.

They were convicted of religiously aggravated disorder in August after a two-day trial at Teesside Magistrates' Court.

The men – who represented themselves during the trial – shouted the abuse at the station on Saturday, December 10, 2011.

The group was in Middlesbrough to

watch the home team play Brighton, but when they decided it was too cold they visited several pubs in the town instead.

Jak Beasley, of Bishop Auckland, Christopher Caswell, of Darlington, and Paul Ross, of Shildon, along with Shaun Bunting, 33, Newton Aycliffe, Ross Williams, 23, of Spennymoor, and Dean Spence, 22, of Spennymoor, will be sentenced in September.

In July last year, about 500 EDL supporters marched through Middlesbrough. The event, which was marked by a large police presence, passed off peacefully.



From left, EDL members Dean Spence, Ross Williams and Paul Ross

A right scandal

Report from www.neurope.eu

THE SECURITY of the European Parliament has been questioned after the leader of the English Defence League, Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, was invited to speak at a "clandestine" meeting inside the parliament.

The meeting was organised by Philip Claeys, the Vlaams Belang MEP and was unadvertised, being listed only as "Non Inscript meeting". It claimed to be about human rights and free speech, but was populated by hard line Islamaphobes, some of whom were singled out for praise by Anders Breivik.

Yaxley-Lennon told the invited audience of fellow ideologues that Muslims had "beaten and drove out of town" Luton's Jewish population, adding, "There's not one Jew left in Luton."

He finished his address by saying to loud applause, "The truth is that Islam is a fascist, backward ideology."

Magdi Allam MEP, Vice Chair of the eurosceptic EFD Group and member of the parliament's Bureau also spoke.



So he's not "just" small minded

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- Comment: Where now for the far-right? page 26



NORWAY | Extremists stuck with Breivik

BY TOR BACH FOR VEPSEN IN OSLO

TERRORIST MASS murderer Anders Breivik has been declared sane and jailed for 21 years for his killing spree in July last year. Reactions to the sentence have been mixed. Most politicians, left and right, and even within the populist Progress Party of which Breivik was a member until 2006, seem to welcome the verdict as a victory for justice.

In the anti-immigration and counter-Jihadist camp, however, Hans Rustad, editor of the blog Document.no is fuming over what he calls "a political verdict" while Arne Tumyr of Stop Islamisation of Norway is disappointed that Breivik was not found insane but states that Breivik's criticism of Islam is still valid. Ronny Alte, one of the numerous former leaders of the Norwegian Defence League is satisfied because, he thinks, if Breivik was insane, that label could apply to him and others as well. Breivik's political idol, Peder Jensen, alias "Fjordman", is claiming that the media forced the verdict and that the media and the police need to be re-structured.

The extreme right is stuck with Breivik for many years to come, and several politicians have spelled out that Breivik should be considered a right-wing extremist terrorist.



Breivik's political idol, Peder Jensen, alias "Fjordman",

SPAIN | Nazi gang arrested in Catalonia after anti-fascist concert attack

FROM SANDRA CORTÉS IN MADRID FOR WWW.ANTIFEIXISTES.ORG

SEVENTEEN NAZIS (16 men and a woman) aged between 17 and 33-years-old have been arrested by Catalan police after assaulting several young people in Manresa (Barcelona), outside an anti-fascist concert in March. After months of investigation, police finally identified some of those responsible for the attack which left several people injured and included an arson attack on a car. One victim, a 16-year-old boy almost died from head injuries. Among those arrested are Antonio Fuentes Perez, a member of the fascist Platform for Catalonia party, and nazi Republican Social Movement member, Victor M. Other detainees belong to hooligan gangs that follow the Real Madrid and RCD Español football clubs. Most of those arrested had their homes searched by police who found caches of nazi propaganda materials, paraphernalia and illegal weapons. Ten of the fascists are on remand, charged with attempted murder, wounding, arson and criminal association. The rest have been released but face the same charges.



Potsdam 10 August:
NPD speaks. Nobody listens.

DENMARK | Exit Pia Kjærsgaard

FROM ANNE JESSEN IN COPENHAGEN FOR DEMOS AND ANTIFA-NET

THE DANISH People's Party (DFP) announced the resignation of Pia Kjærsgaard, 65, as chairman of the party in August. Kjærsgaard, who had chaired the organisation and been its leading figure since its foundation in 1995, will be replaced by Kristian Thulesen Dahl, the "thinker" of the party who will not change its anti-Muslim stance. Her resignation was clearly a calculated political decision. Instead of being party chair, she will now be its spokesperson on "cultural and political values." The "foreigner" issue has not played a leading role in the political debate since the September 2011 election in which DFP was pushed out of prominence. Kjærsgaard's job will be to regain the headlines for xenophobia, anti-Islam prejudice and the DFP.



GERMANY | "Deutschlandtour" flops

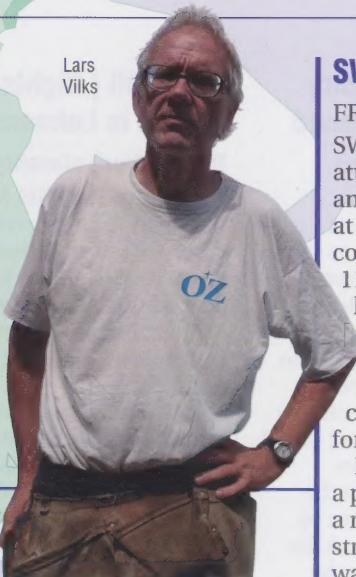
FROM JENS BREUER FOR DER RECHTE RAND AND ANTIFA-NET

THE NAZI National Democratic Party (NPD) started a month-long propaganda tour of Germany on 12 July. The tour, using a small truck, was meant to include two rallies a day at every location. Before the trip, NPD chairman Holger Apfel, set out its stall on Facebook, claiming it would send a signal against the "sale of German interests" and the "imminent death of the German people".

This hyperbole was also used to solicit donations for the tour which the nazis promoted with a 15 T-shirt depicting a Viking ship and the slogan "On our way for Germany".

The truck visited all sixteen federal states and, at every stop, the nazis were met by anti-fascist protests, forcing the police to cordon them off and prevent them from spreading their propaganda.

Lars Vilks

**SWEDEN | Top artist lines up with Counter-Jihadists**

FROM DANIEL VERGARA FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

SWEDISH ARTIST Lars Vilks has attracted media attention after announcing that he will speak at an anti-Muslim counter-jihad conference in New York, USA on 11 September. Several papers have questioned his motive for taking part and a regional museum in the north of Sweden has decided to not accept a contribution from Vilks to a forthcoming exhibition.

Recently, Vilks, who was behind a painting of Mohammed as a roundabout dog (a type of street installation in Sweden), was advertised as a speaker

at the conference by Stop the Islamization of Nations (SION). In an interview with Swedish Radio, he said that Muslims are "inappropriate to be included in a modern society".

The meeting in New York will not be Vilks' first contact with the movement. In 2010, he travelled to the USA on a lecture tour paid by David Horowitz Freedom Center, the organisation that finances the anti-Muslim web site Jihad Watch run by Robert Spencer. Vilks also attended the inauguration of the anti-Muslim Swedish Free Press Society this year.

NETHERLANDS | NVU-chairman Kusters in court

FROM JEROEN BOSCH FOR ALERT! IN AMSTERDAM

CONSTANT KUSTERS, chairman of the Nederlandse Volks-Unie (Dutch People's Union NVU), the oldest nazi party in the Netherlands, was in court in Almelo on 14 August for slogans used at a demonstration in Enschede in May 2011. Kusters, the subject of a complaint by the local anti-discrimination office, was prosecuted with two other NVU members and a German nazi, Axel Reitz aka "Hitler", from Cologne.

Kusters, who was supported by about ten NVU members, heard the public prosecutor demand a sentence of 40 hours social labour, two weeks conditional jail with a two year period of probation. There has been no verdict yet and the other NVU members and Axel Reitz will appear in court at a later date.

**BELGIUM | No more VB defectors**

BY WIM HAELESTERMAN FOR AFF/VERZET - RÉSISTANCES IN BRUSSELS

DEFECTORS FROM the far-right Vlaams Belang (VB) are no longer welcome in the ranks of the rival Flemish nationalist Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie (N-VA). So far, 50 VB MPs and local councillors have flocked to the N-VA. The arrival of Jurgen Ceder, however, has turned out to be a bridge too far because it has provoked considerable criticism. Ceder is a former senator and MP for the VB. Besides this, he was head of the party's legal bureau for years.

Ceder was not welcomed by all the N-VA's leaders and soon after his switch, the newspaper *De Morgen* published a story about a violent incident (in 1984) in which the young Ceder allegedly played a major role. Soon after the incident came to light Ceder renounced his ambitions to stand in the next local elections for the N-VA. N-VA president Bart De Wever told the press the issue was painful: "He (Jurgen Ceder) broke with the past, but unfortunately didn't get the chance to prove it."

AUSTRIA | The collapsing Haider-system

FROM MARTIN JORDAN FOR UNITED IN VIENNA

UWE SCHEUCH, the leader of the far-right Freedom Party in Carinthia (FPK), has been convicted again for corruption after losing an appeal against his first conviction a year ago on charges of offering a Russian investor Austrian citizenship in return for investment in Carinthia and a hefty donation to his party. His conviction is the tip of an iceberg of prosecutions of FPK officials and their accomplices, representing a crumbling of the legacy of late right-wing extremist icon Jörg Haider who turned the Carinthia region into a kleptocracy.

Again and again, the courts are summoning the usual FPK suspects and, in each case, Haider appears to have been the director of the corruption uncovered.

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PERU | Nazi party leader believes conquistadors were Jews

Report from the Guardian

MARTÍN QUISPE MAYTA frowns imperiously from behind a desk adorned with portraits of Adolf Hitler, a copy of *Mein Kampf*, and a collection of toy cars. Draped on the wall behind him is a large red, white and black flag bearing a symbol that looks suspiciously like a swastika.

This is the headquarters of the Andean Peru National Socialism movement, a far-right group that is currently attempting to gather enough signatures to be registered as a political party. Quispe Mayta, the group's 38-year-old founder, calls himself an admirer of Hitler and openly advocates the expulsion of Peru's tiny, well-integrated Jewish population.

Fewer than 5,000 Jews live in a country of nearly 30 million people: they seem an unlikely scapegoat in a Peru racked by its own race and class inequalities. Political and economic power remains largely in the hands of a minority white elite while indigenous Peruvians are at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale.

But then Quispe Mayta is an unlikely Nazi. His Quechua surnames indicate he belongs to one of Peru's most disadvantaged and oppressed castes. The youngest of eight children whose parents were migrants from the Andes, he was selling fruit on the street before he had finished primary school. "Why? Because the Jews controlled the world economy," he spits.



USA | Sting targets white supremacists: Agents' Nazi 'gang' duped suspects

Report from Orlando Sentinel

A NEO-NAZI motorcycle gang created by an undercover law-enforcement unit to investigate white supremacists and racist bikers has helped topple two domestic-terrorism groups in Central Florida.

The original investigation began in 2007, when an undisclosed agent traded emails with August Kreis III, a

CHILE | Nazi paramilitary group training denounced

Report from Prensa Latina

THE CHILEAN Movement for Homosexual Integration and Liberation (Movilh) has denounced neo-nazi groups receiving paramilitary training in the country.

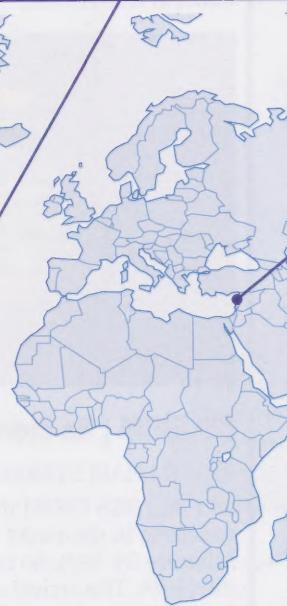
Local radio stations and Radio Chile said Movilh delivered the National Intelligence Direction a video tape and pictures and asked for a rigorous investigation.

Movilh told the press that the evidence was taken to them by someone anonymously and the photos are identified with the names of people who sympathize with the neo-nazis

On 3 March a group beat and tortured a homosexual named Daniel Zamudio, 24 years old, who later died.

Zamudio was left in a park in Santiago, and his attackers left him with three swastikas carved on his body.

This brutal murder prompted the approval of a law that was presented more than 6 years ago in the Chilean Congress.



leader of the Aryan Nations hate group who wanted to form a Nazi motorcycle club to serve as the militant arm for white supremacists across the country, according to records obtained by the Orlando Sentinel.

Using a false identity, the agent from the Orange County Sheriff's Office became the Aryan Nations' top Florida administrator responsible for recruiting members for what would become the 1st SS Kavallerie Brigade Motorcycle Division, operating out of a clubhouse in St. Cloud.

Early members included at least two

LEBANON | Rights group vows to fight racism in Lebanon resorts

Report from alarabiya.net

THE ANTI-RACISM Movement (ARM) in Lebanon in July called for an end to discrimination at beach resorts which deny entry to foreign workers and domestic staff, according to the Lebanon now blog.

It singled out 10 very well-known beach and pool resorts for their unabashedly racist policies.

Incidents of racism at Lebanon's popular beach clubs have been reported before; some are known for their bias in entry policies despite the tourism ministry's efforts to ban resorts from discriminating on the basis of race, nationality or disability.

Resort owners have informed the ARM that migrant domestic workers may be allowed to enter their establishments but not allowed to swim. However, the group plans to continue its campaign until it "compiles a comprehensive list of violators".

In 2010, the ARM released a video that showed a black woman being denied entry to Beirut's Sporting Club.

Following this incident, the group posted a clip featuring a club's public relations manager Walid Abu Nasser rejecting all accusations of racial discrimination, saying that the establishment is a private facility, which has the right to grant entrance.



PERU: Martín Quispe Mayta



USA: August Kreis III

additional undercover FBI agents – who infiltrated the club – and a biker accused of offering \$1,000 to anyone willing to shoot a black man riding an quad bike in rural Osceola County, records show.

The two cases – the motorcycle club and the takedown of the American Front white-supremacist group in Osceola in May – have resulted in 20 arrests on charges ranging from unsuccessful bomb and murder plots to drug dealing, illegal firearms possession and conducting paramilitary training to prepare for a race war.

Guest column...



Thousands of people attended a memorial service on 10 August at Oak Creek High School. The service was held for the six members of the Wisconsin Sikh Temple who were killed in a shooting on 3 August 2012. Photo from flickr by HeyGabe

American response to Sikh shooting says much about belonging

By Eric O'Neill in Washington DC

I WAS A SIXTH GRADER at elementary school in the 70s. The school bus I rode everyday was a multi-racial smorgasbord of young kids who were excited to get to school so that we could play marbles or show off our newest toy before class started. It was on one of those days, on my way to school, that I was told something that changed my life forever.

One Monday morning, a schoolmate whispered that over the weekend neo-nazis had protested against Jews and blacks in one of the parks that we passed on our way to school and that it had been in the paper. No one really talked about it much, and I'm sure that the conversation quickly turned to our favourite television shows, but from that day forward the park took on a sinister form in my mind.

Though the conversation ended, I never forgot it. I also never ventured into that park even though I lived in the city for another eleven years. Who would have ever thought that a small group of neo-nazis would succeed in limiting my America? At the age of eleven I was already being taught who was an American and what America should look like. In short, a lesson in belonging.

I've always been hesitant about sharing this story beyond a few of my closest friends. Mainly, I've

always thought that people would respond to my story with "it was just malcontents," and "there is no need to take them seriously." I think, however, that the recent media coverage surrounding the deaths of six members of the Sikh faith at the hands of a white nationalist proves me right. The problem is not neo-nazis, it is America's unwillingness to take them seriously.

While anti-Muslim leaders Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer from the United States were busy plotting a 'worldwide counter-jihad alliance' with their European counterparts in Sweden, gunshots rang out at a Sikh Temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin. Wade Michael Page, an avowed white nationalist and an activist with the Hammerskin Nation, shot down six individuals before turning his gun on himself.

American media and political pundits, when paying attention at all, were quick to play down the ideological motivations of this mass murder, quickly framing Page as a "loner," "a troubled individual," "lost". I think back to 2006 when seven men who thought they were working with al-Qaida, but in reality with an FBI informant, were arrested in a plot against Chicago's landmark Sears Tower.

I can't help but ask if Page had been a self-proclaimed



All American nazi Michael Page Wade

Muslim and his target had been a Christian Church would the media have been so blasé? Would the public write such a person off as "a troubled man"?

It is doubtful.

Hate crimes against both Muslims and Sikhs remain at a post-9/11 high and in the last week alone eight Mosques have been attacked in the U.S. Where is the outrage? This double standard says much about identity in America and who has the right to belong. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, hate crimes targeting those perceived to be Muslim or Arab soared in the United States. Taxi drivers were assaulted, children were harassed and Muslim religious sites were vandalised.

Six years earlier on April 19, 1995 a young man by the name

of Timothy McVeigh, who self-identified as a "white Christian", drove a truck bomb into a federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people and injuring over eight hundred. I often asked my friends who identify as "white," or "Christian" if they felt unsafe sending their children to school, or nervous about going to work, or attending church because they thought they might be targeted by those upset at Timothy McVeigh. All agreed that they never even remotely considered themselves in such danger.

At the end of McVeigh's trial, one of the jurors expressed this sense of belonging by saying that she "had the hardest time convicting McVeigh (because) he seemed like he could be my next door neighbor or someone I would let date my daughter." In the recent mass shooting at the Sikh temple these same sentiments were expressed when Chris Robillard, a former military friend, said Page was, "a very kind, very smart individual."

Deep down the majority of the American public is still willing to make catastrophic allowances for those they believe "belong". As a young black child on his way to school, I always wished that this same America would let me belong by taking these threats seriously, too.

EDL activists call for leader to resign



By Matthew Collins

HOURS AFTER THE disaster that was their day in Walthamstow on 1 September, the EDL were scattered across London and, indeed, the rest of the country. Some had made it home bruised and battered while others had wisely followed the events from the safety of twitter and facebook.

As darkness descended a carnival atmosphere developed on Hoe Street, the main hub of the suburb where the EDL had been blocked from entering by locals a few hours earlier. Pubs threw their doors open and relieved and excited locals sat or stood outside pubs, cafes and restaurants to reflect on the events of the day.

As the evening wore on, police cars headed in the direction of Blackhorse Road, where 40 EDL activists were refusing to leave the area. Local youths milled around smelling blood. The confused and dazed EDL activists did not want to leave but

they did not want to stay either. Their day had been a disaster.

It had started well enough as they occupied the pubs around Euston and Kings Cross. By the time they had arrived in Walthamstow, however, their day had been ruined. Some went to the wrong rallying points, others hid in pubs and those who did march found themselves blocked, cajoled and humiliated.

Their cyber bravado descended into panic and frustration as they recounted their unfolding disaster and frustrations on the internet. The EDL leadership finished their rally before the march had even arrived and as they fled in a car, large numbers of their followers were arrested as they fought among themselves, with police and anti-fascists.

At 10 pm, the 40 EDL activists at Blackhorse Road were finally arrested. At London Kings Cross another 200 EDL activists were parked under caution in police

vans with no toilet facilities or refreshment breaks for hours.

Twitter was alive with people demanding to know the whereabouts of the EDL leadership. Stephen Lennon remained silent.

Wigan EDL were the first to air their anger, publicly turning on EDL leaders Stephen Lennon and Kevin Carroll. "Hold your head (sic) in shame leave before its (sic) too late" they wrote. Bristol Organiser Micky Bayliss got home at 4am, feeling "mugged off". Earlier he had written that it was a "fucking joke, people are turning on each other now."

Anger poured out across the EDL. It was mainly directed at the police and anti-fascists, but the leadership took their brunt too, with many believing that they and British Freedom Party leader Paul Weston had abandoned them. As the locals in Walthamstow set off fireworks to celebrate the racists' humiliation the EDL claimed there was a race

riot. The BNP joined them in trying to spread this lie, claiming that Muslims were burning out cars and buildings.

The rival 'Infidels' were as happy as the cat that got the cream. They wrote "Tommy you are scum" and released a message from one of the EDL on the demo telling how the EDL had been harassed for nine hours while the leadership "fucked off to leave us to deal with it all."

BNP leader Nick Griffin, who had spent the day tweeting in a desperate attempt to share some of the limelight, described the Walthamstow debacle as "big trouble to boost profile in pointless new party." Griffin, whose own party largely abandoned London two years before, described Lennon as "leading shrinking numbers into police traps them leaving them in hope of kicking off."

Surely the EDL cannot survive for much longer.

Far-right hero worship Breivik

A champion kickboxer from Walsall is just one of a number of far-right extremists in Britain who have articulated their support for the murderous actions of Norwegian killer Anders Breivik, writes Simon Cressy

WHILE MOST far-right leaders have entered a state of mass denial by simply not commenting on Breivik, a few have been outspoken in their support, some to the point of hero worship.

One such individual is a kick boxer from Walsall named Darren Clift who is a member of the National Front. Clift is 23 years old and fights out of the Chongsin do Kick Boxing Club, in Willenhall in the West Midlands. He has been English semi-contact champion in the 18 and 19 year-old divisions and has also been the 'Full contact English

Top: (left) Anders Breivik salutes and (right) Darren Clift copies

Darren Clift in Ku Klux Klan robes and (right) Clift the kickboxer"



light heavy weight champion.'

Clift fights under the name of 'Dazzler' while he posts under the name of 'Daz MarxistHunter' and poses in KKK outfits giving nazi salutes.

On Facebook Clift wrote "Free Anders Breivik! Let's start a petition, who's with me?"

Unsurprisingly there wasn't a single reply to his call to arms, which prompted Clift to write: "Those leftist twats deserved it. If it was me who did the killings I'd've (sic) tortured them slowly."

Clift also wrote "[Breivik] is truly inspirational. He sacrificed his life so Europe might be free again from the clutches of Islam and cultural Marxism, multiculturalism and political correctness. I see him as my role model, what every European man needs to be in order for Europe to survive."

Another individual who sees Breivik as some kind of swashbuckling crusader is former German nazi terrorist Nick Greger. A close friend of EDL founder member Paul Ray, Greger first caught the public eye when he appeared on a couple of TV documentaries declaring his undying loyalty towards convicted Loyalist terrorist Johnny 'Mad Dog' Adair.

Greger is banned from entering the UK and now lives in Malta alongside Paul Ray, who between them run the bizarre 'Order 777'.

Nick Greger wrote on Facebook: "Anders Breivik demanded from the court to give him a medal. Sadly they didn't give (sic) him one but now The Order 777 produced a medal for Anders Breivik to award him for the ground breaking performance to blow up his Marxist traitor government building".

He also included a photo of a rather tacky looking medal which was

supposedly sent on to Breivik.

Answering Greger, Joel Yossi replied "I have wrote (sic) letters to him in prison and it seems he is in high spirits".

Yossi was an active member of the EDL's Jewish Division and was the right hand man of Roberta Moore, who herself defended Breivik by writing on her website: "Those to blame are those who held the rally. Breivik killed nobody under the age of 14 in the shootings. I hold the same amount of sympathy for those on Utoya as I would if somebody committed this act on a Hitler Youth camp in the 1940's, or were they just 'children' as well?"

Even EDL leader Stephen Lennon sought to explain Breivik's behaviour. "It was obviously wrong what he did, but there was logic to all of it," he said. "By saying that he was sane, it gives a certain credibility to what he had been saying. And that is, that Islam is a threat to Europe and to the world."



Islamophobes rally in Stockholm

Anna-Sofia Quensel and Daniel Vergara report for EXPO in Stockholm

The international Counter-Jihadist organisation Stop Islamisation of Nations (SION) staged a rally in Stockholm city centre in conjunction with the violent English Defence League (EDL) on 4 August.

Several of the key organisations which form SION and various so-called Defence Leagues used the occasion to make short but provocative speeches – to a much smaller audience than they had hoped for – about what they claim is the ongoing Islamisation of Europe and the USA and the war between Islam and Western culture and free speech.

Notable among the speakers present were a dishevelled-looking Paul Weston from the British Freedom Party (BFP) and his right-hand man, ex-British National Party fascist Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (*aka* Tommy Robinson) and his *aide de camp* Kevin Carroll.

During the two hour-long rally at the Norra Bantorget Square, the assembled anti-Islamists spat their venom, mixing anti-Muslim war rhetoric with hate-filled tirades against their political opponents and the mainstream media.

"The Media is at war with you, they are waging a war against freedom. It is the Counter-Jihad movement who speaks the truth, while the media and politicians spread evil lies," raged New York-based SION leader, Pamela Geller.

Paul Weston from the British Freedom Party
Photo: *Expo*



Going on to praise the EDL, she raved, "I salute the EDL, and I stand with the EDL. They are not the violent ones – the violent ones are the others." Pointing towards anti-racist protesters cordoned off by the police on the other side of the street she added "we are in an ideological war."

Together with another SION leader, Robert Spencer, who also addressed the rally, Geller had travelled to Sweden from the USA to launch the event, billed as the First Annual Global Counter Jihad rally. Other speakers included the Dane, Anders Gravers, from Stop Islamisation of Europe, Michael Stürzenberg from Die Freiheit in Germany and Debbie Robinson from Q Society Australia. For the Defence Leagues, Mimosa Koiranen represented Finland, Arne Hauge, Norway and Pavel Chernev, Bulgaria.

There was no speaker from the Swedish Defence League as Richard Abrams, its intended speaker, had been removed on the orders of the EDL two days earlier because of embarrassing content on his website, Chamber of manifestation, where he – among other things – had published a version of Norwegian mass killer Anders Breivik's European Declaration of Independence and a quotation from the Nazi theorist and executed war criminal Alfred Rosenberg. One of Abrams' self-proclaimed objectives is to "reclaim the swastika".

The much trumpeted rally gathered less than 100 participants – including the speakers and Geller and Spencer's bodyguards – while another thirty to forty reporters and media photographers were inside the cordoned off area.

In a tweet a few days earlier, Robinson boasted that there would be 20 "lutonlads", but, as far as Expo's reporters could tell there were only about 10 of them, including himself and Carroll, while the much-vaunted Swedish Defence League managed to muster just three representatives.

The meeting was heavily sealed off, several hundred police keeping anti-racist protesters away from the Counter-Jihadist rabble. The counter-demonstration, numbering a few hundred, did its best to drown the speakers by shouting and blowing vuvuzelas. One policeman was hit in the eye by a firecracker but was not severely injured. Ten people, meanwhile, were arrested in connection with the protest.

The abiding theme for all speakers was the supposed threat of Islam to western society. In his speech, Robinson described Islam and Muslims as an enemy within and warned that the fight against them will go on for a very long time." The Muslim ideology," he declared, "is invading your country and raping our women". Elsewhere in his speech, he moaned about police harassment and presented himself and other EDL members as the victims of false allegations.



Significantly, the Islamophobic gathering was held on the same day as the annual gay Pride parade in Stockholm, a coincidence that had prompted considerable speculation in the media the week before the SION/EDL rally as to whether it had been an intentional decision or not.

Both Isak Nygren, the spokesman for the Swedish Defence League and Kevin Carroll – in a direct response to journalists present at the gathering – claimed it was a coincidence, and that they were not engaged in any “pink-washing”, an expression that had to be explained to Carroll.

In his speech, Carroll did, however, ask, after having seen a gay motorcyclist earlier that morning with a Palestinian flag mounted on the back of his bike, whether gay men and women were ignorant as to what would happen to them under Sharia law.

Only days before the rally, the extremist British Freedom Party announced that its party leader, Paul Weston would also be a speaker. His speech was arguably the most militant of the day. He claimed that communists and Islamists were the new nazis of today, saying that Hitler and Islam was one and the same, asking the audience in a direct reference to the protesters “And who do these stupid, stupid left-wing-people call Nazis? What is going through their tiny little left-wing minds?”

The media, he went on, “are the people that are far more

dangerous than Islam because they are facilitating Islam – it’s the mainstream media, the liberal media and the left-wing media who are doing Islam’s job for them.”

Taking up the war motif and running with it, Weston told his enthralled listeners: “This is a demographic war we’re in now... And in Britain right now we’ve got three million Muslims. In 10 years’ time six million, in 20 years’ time 12 million, by 2050 maybe 30, 40 million. And they’re very young, – they’re not like us ageing gracefully – their demographic is young. I say that because the important thing about the young is they are of military fighting age. And we are in a war right now, today, and it’s a war that we will not win in twenty or thirty years’ time unless we sort it out *now, today*.

Weston closed his speech by urging all the Defence Leagues to politicise themselves and unite because, he said, Islam is united and “this century will see a fight to the death between the Christian west and Islam and we cannot afford to lose it”.

Afterwards, talking to a reporter from EXPO, Weston waxed even more belligerent, saying, “If you don’t want Islam inflicted on you, you either run away or you fight”, before describing all Muslims as a threat.

“There are certainly moderate Muslims in England,” he said, “but when violence is started by Islam then the moderate Muslims will have to decide what to do” “I

Pam Gellar
Photo: Expo

imagine the moderate Muslims will go with the Islamist side then,” Weston added.

Explaining the relationship between the EDL and the BFP, he said: “The British Freedom party is a political movement. Tommy Robinson and Kevin Carroll are on board with the BFP” and that while the EDL is a street movement, it is the BFP that is giving the movement a political platform to work from.

So, there we have it: the EDL is the BFP’s street army, an admission that is one of the few things to have emerged from the dismal flop of 4 August.



EXPO
Expo, founded in 1995, is HOPE not hate’s sister publication and organisation in Sweden. Published quarterly, it is the only magazine that consistently investigates the Swedish extreme right, frequently grabbing news headlines with its hard-hitting exposés

American Islamophobe offers to bankroll EDL campaign

Matthew Collins and Nick Lowles

(right) Robert Spencer,
(far-right) Kevin Carroll
Photos: Expo



A LEADING American 'counter-Jihadist' has offered to bankroll the English Defence League's second in command, Kevin Carroll, in his bid to become Bedfordshire's police and crime commissioner in November, HOPE not hate can exclusively reveal.

Robert Spencer, one of the most important people within the global 'counter-Jihad' movement, made the offer to Carroll over dinner in a restaurant in Stockholm following the poorly attended inaugural rally of the Stop Islamisation of Nations (SION) held on 4 August.

Carroll will be contesting the election for the £70,000 per year job under the British Freedom Party (BFP) flag, an organisation of which he is the joint deputy chairman.

In attendance at the restaurant were leading members of the EDL, Paul Weston, leader of the British Freedom Party (BFP) and Pam Gellar, who along with Spencer is one of the most high-profile figures in the international 'Counter-Jihad' movement.

Spencer and Gellar are involved in a plethora of organisations, campaigns and blogsites. They both run the newly formed SION, which is the first global right wing anti-Jihadist organisation. Gellar also runs the Atias Shrugs blog, whilst Spencer runs Jihad Watch, and together they ran the campaign against a proposed Islamic centre close to the Ground Zero in New York.

While the offer of cash is tantalising for Carroll, if he decides to accept it, it will be illegal under British law.

Carroll and Weston hope that this election can finally improve the BFP's fortunes. Despite a

large fanfare, both on the BFP's website and in the national press, the BFP has failed to make any meaningful impact, even within the far right. Few BNP members have switched allegiance, nor have many EDL supporters felt that this is the electoral party for them, which is surprising given Lennon and Carroll's positions within the BFP.

BFP leader Paul Weston, who talks a good fight on the internet, is under massive pressure to deliver electoral results to sceptical EDL supporters and, possibly more importantly for him, to the international 'counter-Jihad' audience which he so enjoys addressing.

Having misjudged the political aspirations, or at least capabilities of the EDL, it soon became apparent after the BFP officially announced Carroll's candidature at the end of July, that the party was going to

struggle to fund the campaign. That probably explains the excitement around the table at the Swedish restaurant.

Kevin Carroll

Born in 1969, Kevin is the second youngest of five children born to Kevin Carroll Snr and Theresa Brown. Despite four siblings, it appears that Kevin was closest to his cousin Stephen Lennon, the youngest son of his father's sister Rita Carroll. Stephen Lennon is the leader of the EDL.

Carroll has had a number of interests in the building industry in and around Luton and Bedfordshire, variously describing himself as a plumber and plasterer, even being the director of one short-lived company.

Despite a long life of alleged involvement with criminality, martial arts and boxing clubs in Luton, Carroll has managed to largely stay out of the reach of the law. He earned himself

the name "Ginger Ninger" as a part of the Luton Town football hooligan gang, Men in Gear (MIGs), but it was not until 1997, when he signed the nomination forms for a local BNP candidate, that he openly aligned himself with the far-right.

In 2010, aged forty-one, Carroll received his first ever conviction, a conditional discharge for insulting words and behaviour likely to cause distress, during one of the earliest EDL outings the year before. Even though he only had to pay relatively small costs of £179 for the conditional discharge, Carroll decided to appeal but that was rejected by the court at a later date.

Carroll's role within the EDL has grown from being cousin Stephen's cheerleader, to an effective street marshall where he dominates the EDL's rampant mobs. He is considered the more intelligent of the two, often writing his cousin's speeches.

Wary of being dismissed as a racist, Carroll has proudly boasted to the media of his mixed-race step daughter. That proves nothing, as his racist anti-Muslim tirades on twitter clearly prove.

Illegal

Donations by foreign nationals to British political parties is illegal so it is unlikely that any payments will be made public. Just as importantly, however, the offer proves the growing internationalisation of the 'counter-Jihad' movement.

THE FACTS

Police and Crime Commissioners

THE POLICE AND CRIME commissioner elections will be held on 10 November and the elected person will serve until May 2016. After that elections will take place for four year terms of office.

The Government claim that elected police and crime commissioners will bring greater accountability to local policing and make the police more in tune with the wishes of the local community. Opponents claim that this is politicising the police and paves the way for right wing 'dog whistle' politics.

The key role of police and crime commissioners are:

- holding the chief constable to account for the delivery of the force
- setting and updating a police and crime plan
- setting the force budget and precept
- regularly engaging with the public and communities
- appointing, and where necessary dismissing, the chief constable

In addition to Kevin Carroll contesting Bedfordshire, HOPE not hate is expecting the BNP and English Democrats to contest a few police and crime commissioner elections.

Wherever extreme-right parties stand, HOPE not hate will be out campaigning against them.



The 'Counter-Jihad' Monitoring Unit

The murderous activities of Anders Behring Breivik has shone a light on the murky world of the 'Counter-Jihad' movement.

While Anders Breivik acted alone he was inspired by 'Counter-Jihad' ideology and propaganda.

Perhaps Breivik would have gone on a killing spree without reading their work but it is clear their writings had an important impact on the formation of his political mindset.

Like the Counter-Jihadists, he too believed that Muslims wanted to turn Western Europe into an Islamic state and that the immigration policies of many western governments were allowing this to happen.

Almost a quarter of Breivik's 1,518-page manifesto comprised quotes from other people – the overwhelming majority from people featured in this report. Half of the 375 pages of quotes came from just one man, the 'Counter-Jihadist' blogger Fjordman.

In July HOPE not hate produced a 120-page report into the 'Counter-Jihad' movement. Running to over 54,000 words, the report profiled 515 organisations and individuals across the world who make up the 'Counter-Jihad' trend.

Now we are establishing a 'Counter-Jihad' Monitoring Unit to continue investigating these anti-Muslim organisations, blogsites and individuals.

This is a two-year project in which we will do the following:

Produce two further reports on the influence of anti-Muslim hatred on political and media discourse across Europe

Investigate the growing transatlantic connections currently being made by 'Counter-Jihadists'

Host an international conference in early 2013 to improve our understanding of the 'Counter-Jihad' trend by bringing together leading academics, researchers and public policy experts

Develop a toolkit to assist community groups and political parties combat anti-Muslim hatred at a national and grassroots level

Work with faith and community organisations to build local resilience to anti-Muslim hatred

To find out more about our
Counter-Jihad Monitoring
Unit, please email us at
CJMU@opennothate.org.uk

Online radicalis

'Lone Wolves' of all stripes

By Mark Gardner

We already know that Al Qaeda and the extremes of the far right share an obsessive and murderous hatred of Jews. Now, as Al Qaeda's core is squeezed from physical space into virtual reality, as it becomes as much an idea as a structure, so its use of the Internet is increasingly replicating the experience and practise of its far right counterparts: with local actors seeking to make their own deadly demonstrations of international Islamist unity, threat, power and rage.

Let us begin, not in cyberspace, or Kandahar, but in a red bricked terrace house in Oldham, home to Mohammed and Shasta Khan.

Home grown terrorists

On 19 July 2012, the Khans were found guilty of planning to bomb Jewish communities in nearby neighbourhoods in Prestwich and Salford. They were the first married couple to be convicted of such terror offences: but their deadly plot was only uncovered because Mr Khan assaulted his father-in-law. The police attended and Mrs Khan's brother warned them, "I think he's a home grown terrorist".

The Khans' conviction came the day after the bombing of Israeli tourists in Bulgaria; and the day before the shootings of American cinema-goers at a Batman movie. Bulgaria fitted the pattern of international state-backed terrorism (in this case Iran's shadow war with Israel). The Batman killings also fitted a pattern: the lunatic gunman.

The Khans were not in an international terrorist network and they were not deranged. Rather, they were part of a growing trend that poses serious threats to public safety: modern "Lone Wolf" terrorism, in which our fellow

citizens self-radicalise via the Internet in the privacy of their own homes and part facilitated by Internet providers, commercial companies and the like.

The increasingly common pro Al Qaeda model fits what American neo-Nazis developed, long before the Internet, as the "*leaderless resistance*" strategy. Would-be terrorists must act alone to avoid detection; and their actions will inspire others to follow their lead. Hierarchy is redundant. Ideas and physical attacks are all that matter. Al Qaeda has clearly learnt the lesson: its online English language publication is entitled "*Inspire*". This is how it reaches English speakers, those whom it wishes to convert and inspire.

Leaderless resistance

In American far right and survivalist circles, "*leaderless resistance*" ideas crystallised via the *Turner Diaries*, a book about a race war, sparked by a lone white supremacist terrorist and from which whites emerge triumphant. Published in 1978, it inspired Tim McVeigh's murder of 168 people in the Oklahoma City bombing of 1995. Formerly only available from neo-Nazi groups via shady underground PO Boxes, you can now buy this guide to racist murder and supremacist revolution on Amazon, or literally read it on your Kindle. This is how modern technology facilitates race hatred; and it is how Internet corporations add another few pennies of profit out of the process.

In the Internet age, radicalising propaganda is self-selected online, at the click of a mouse. There is no need to somehow physically enter the world of international terrorism, to somehow catch the notice of your local terrorism recruiter, to somehow disappear off to

Pakistan, Idaho, or wherever.

Why bother with convoluted command and control networks that can be penetrated by security services, damaged by drone strikes, or shut down by nervous host regimes, when the Internet already has more incitement and instruction than you could access in a lifetime of terrorist training camps?

Back in Oldham, investigators found that the Khans had used facebook to obtain the July 2010 issue of Al Qaeda's "*Inspire*", with its feature article, "*Build a bomb in the kitchen of your mom*". The Khans set to work, using Shasta's home-based Sassy Hair Studio as cover for purchasing explosive ingredients, mixed in kitchen pots in the back yard. Wires and timers were bought from nearby stores; and then, thankfully, Mohammed Khan attacked his father-in-law.

It is the outward normality of such would-be terrorists that can make them so hard to catch. As so often, a newspaper headline summed it up best. *The Sun* said: "*Corrie-loving Brit turned home-grown terrorist after finding hubby No3 on Muslim dating site*".

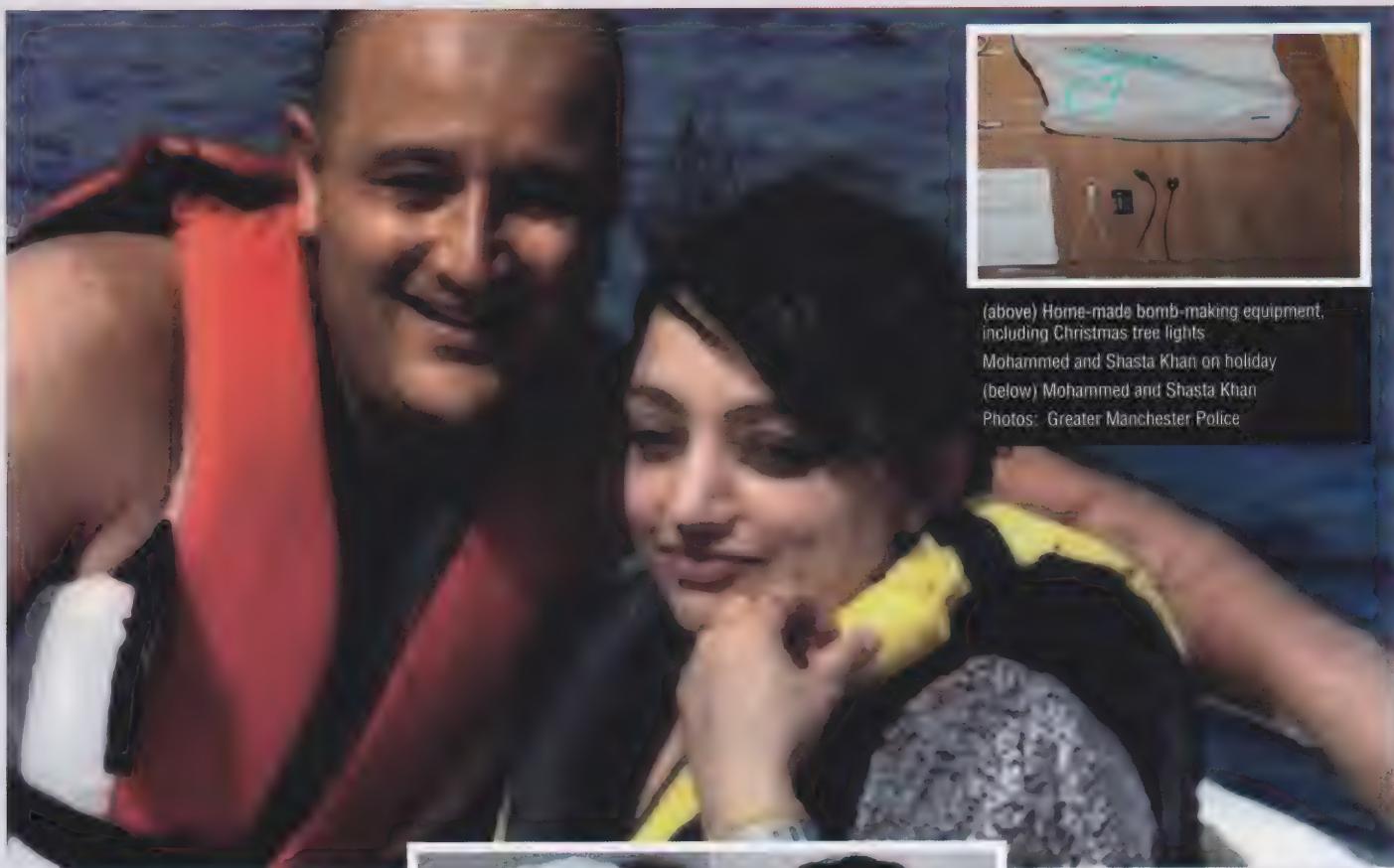
It was local Jihadi terrorists, who had formerly been normal everyday people; and who were looking to kill their nearest local Jews.

Radicalised inside a year

The couple's honeymoon photographs show the husband as clean shaven and the wife dressed in a T shirt and without a headscarf. Within a year, they were fully radicalised. Coronation Street had been replaced with downloaded beheading videos; and scores of incitement CDs and DVDs had been run off. The only time these terrorists actually had to leave the house was when they conducted at least eleven

ation

See also
Antisemitism
picture across
the UK
page 25



(above) Home-made bomb-making equipment, including Christmas tree lights

Mohammed and Shasta Khan on holiday

(below) Mohammed and Shasta Khan

Photos: Greater Manchester Police



"hostile reconnaissance" trips to the targeted Jewish neighbourhoods. After all the Internet incitement and indoctrination, seeing Jews in the flesh moved the husband to comment, "*we must kill them all*".

Had the Khans succeeded, their crime would have been bracketed with that of Mohammed Merah, who killed Jewish schoolchildren, a rabbi and French soldiers in Toulouse in March 2012. Merah's past shows he is no lone actor reliant upon the Internet, but there is another lesson here: before he was caught, there were many who assumed that Merah was a neo-Nazi.

On the flip side to Merah, back in 1995, the dreadful Oklahoma bombing was originally blamed upon Muslims. More recently, there was the confusion when Anders Breivik's awful crimes unfolded on 24hr news. Recall how long it took for Breivik to be identified and revealed as being far right, rather than a Jihadist of some sort.

Breivik is another terrorist who

appears to have had an Internet obsession. His virtual reality of modern day crusader networks, his array of self-selected propaganda and his bizarre "manifesto" are all prime examples of the manner in which the Internet can move individuals to destroy others.

Uniting the far-right and Jihadists

So, the furthest extremes of far right and Jihadist ideology unite not only in their choice of targets, but increasingly in their electronic modes of propaganda, indoctrination and incitement. The far

right have long operated in this manner out of necessity: but the Internet facilitates their hatreds in ways unimaginable to the mad, sad and bad Nazi grouplets of earlier decades; and now Al Qaeda is fast heading in the same direction.

Society needs to decide how seriously it takes the Internet's role in all of this. We already make the effort when tracking sex crimes against children, and

I am unaware of Amazon and Kindle knowingly selling paedophilia: but how many more Breiviks do we need before serious action is taken? ●

■ **MARK GARDNER** is Communications Director at the Community Security Trust (CST). CST provides security for Britain's Jewish community and also combats antisemitism and terrorism which it sees as integral to safeguarding wider democratic British society against extremism and hatred.



The global reality of extremisms

By Anthony Painter

THERE CAN BE no doubt that extremism – a combustive mixture of hate and possible violence – poses a risk and threat that requires deeper understanding. The horrors of Utoya Island in Norway last July, taking place in one of the world's most recognisably peaceful and wealthy societies, underscores the pervasive nature of the risk. Understanding the nature and scope of these risks is a challenge: one that requires a good bedrock of credible research and analysis.

The research base on violent extremism and terrorism is enormous. It's almost too big. There is an urgent need to bring together the most significant experts in both academic and public policy research with policy makers, campaigners, the media, security services, and the interested public.

That is why Extremis Project www.extremisproject.org has been established – to link research, public policy, security and public understanding. It is completely politically impartial and independent. The aim is simply to present the latest news, analysis and research in connection with extremisms.

Understanding the links between values, attitudes, mainstream politics and media, social media engagement at softer

end, street protest and activism at the more moderate level and horrendous acts of violence at the very extreme is a critical challenge for societies in the modern context. By platforming the best voices in all these arenas the knowledge can be pooled, shared, and gaps can be identified. By approaching extremism in an objective and evidence-based fashion, genuine understanding is enhanced and any response will be well-informed and have more chance of success.

For example, Extremis Project expert analysts in the early stages of the platform's operations have already explored issues such as a cumulative nature of extremisms, the fragmentation of the UK far

right, the possible link between mainstream US Republicanism and far-right violence and a new far-right threat in Spain.

Roger Eatwell writes on the 'cumulative' nature of extremism as one group draws energy from the other. Matt Goodwin of the University of Nottingham detailed the fragmentation of the far right as the British Freedom Party challenges the BNP. Cas Mudde of the University of Georgia argued that the violence such as that seen perpetrated by Wade Michael Page in Wisconsin may have its roots in the discourse of elements of mainstream Republicanism such as sovereigntism and anti-Obama rhetoric such as 'birthism'. Aitor Hernandez-Carr warns that the far right may be rearing its head again in Spain as that society faces enormous and rapid change. This is just a selection of the dozens of expert analysts who have signed up to appear on the site.

It is not only the Far Right that presents an extremist challenge. The radical Islamist threat may have changed but it hasn't gone away. Both forms of potential violence and hate could possibly create mayhem and destabilise societies. There are other threats from the extreme also. Therefore, there is a gap and need to present the latest research and analysis in a way that is useful.

HOPE not hate itself engages in high quality research into extremist activity just as the Southern Poverty Law Center does in the US – hence Mark Potok from the SPLC joining our list of expert analysts. When such research is published, Extremis Project will spread its reach. And those who critique research from an expert perspective will also have a chance respond.

None of the threats which face our societies are going away. Indeed, they shift in form, focus, technique and force. Risks emerge and diminish. Yet, there are ways to respond. There are means of mitigating risks. A starting point for these responses is the latest news, evidence, research and analysis. What happens beyond that point is up to campaigners, politicians, policy makers, the media, law enforcement and security agencies.

Extremis Project is simply about platforming the latest and best knowledge on extremisms wherever they may arise. It's a big job but over time we hope through widening and deepening our network we are able to help make some sense of the threats we face.

We hope readers of HOPE not hate magazine find it useful.

■ ANTHONY PAINTER is co-founder of Extremis Project
www.extremisproject.org



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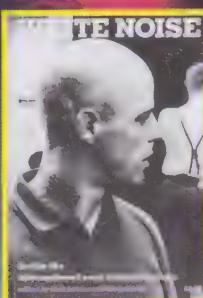
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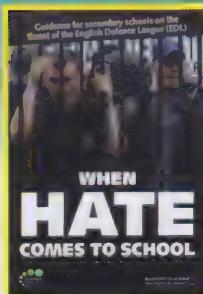
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MATTHEW COLLINS
WITH A FOREWORD BY GILLY BRASS

HATE

MY LIFE IN THE BRITISH FAR RIGHT



HATE

My Life in the British Far Right

by Matthew Collins

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Merseyside's far-right

Over the last two years the far right have conducted a war of intimidation, threats and violence on Merseyside. Simon Cressy looks at some of the more violent and hardline nazis who are active in the area.



PAUL JAMES WALSH: Paul James – also known as Paul Walsh – from Speke, Merseyside is the No 2 in the Combined Ex-Forces (CxF), a group of former soldiers who initially aligned themselves with the English Defence League (EDL) before being pushed out of that organisation because of their extremism. The CxF is now aligned to the North West Infidels (NWI), itself a split off from the EDL. XF James appears to be the person who effectively runs things in the North West region.

The truth about his military career is unclear as he claims he has seen active service in both Bosnia and the first Gulf War despite the fact that he is only in his thirties. He was allegedly thrown out of the British Army in 1998 with a dishonourable discharge for stealing from local houses.

He applauded the shooting of women and children by a rogue US soldier in Afghanistan who went on a killing spree killing 16 Afghan civilians.

PETER TIERNEY: Also known as Peter Quiggins, is a former British National Party activist who recently switched allegiances to the NF along with his brother Andy Tierney.

Tierney is thought to be a millionaire as a result of the sale of his previous business, The Quiggins Centre, in Liverpool. He now owns an antique shop in Liverpool city centre.

Peter Tierney was the official NF mayoral candidate in the 2012 elections.

Tierney's name was on the list of people Norwegian mass killer Anders Behring Breivik sent his manifesto to just before going on his killing spree. He was arrested and charged with a public order offence in May 2012 after a protest outside Liverpool Crown Court following the Rochdale Paedophile/Grooming trial.

He was found guilty of assault and causing actual bodily harm to an anti-fascist protester in April 2009. The incident, which was captured on CCTV, Tierney swung a camera tripod into the back of the activist's head. He was sentenced to 100 hours of unpaid work.

He is behind the minuscule Anti Zionist League (AZL), which appears to be nothing more than a website and the two Tierney brothers.



During

KEVIN BRYAN: Deputy Chairman of the National Front, Kevin Bryan claims to be an "advertising executive". From Bacup in Lancashire, Bryan was a regular BNP candidate and its Rochdale organiser until he ditched them and joined the NF.

Bryan led the NF/NWI/CxF protests outside Rochdale Town Hall against a Muslim grooming gang which turned violent and saw the far right contingent attempt to invade the building.



KEVIN JAMES DEVINE: Devine, also known as "Comone", is the 'Commander' of the CxF, although this appears to be in name only.

Lives in St Helens and has been a member of the BNP. He is thought to have served in the King's Regiment.



KEVIN TURNER: Kevin Turner, from Birkenhead, uses the name Cavan Caoimhin Turner on Facebook. He appears to be the number three in the CxF behind James Devine and Paul James.



goon squad

SHANE CALVERT: From Blackburn, Calvert, known by his nickname "Diddyman" was originally a loyal servant of the EDL but threw his support behind the North West Infidels after they broke away from the EDL.

Calvert moved to Hartlepool in the North East to live with his girlfriend Sami Pearson who was also involved with the EDL/Infidels.

He became a regular at various Infidel gatherings and was one of their administrators on their many Facebook pages. Calvert is known for posting racist and threatening postings on Facebook.

He moved home to Blackburn after he split with Pearson and was arrested and charged with domestic related criminal damage at what is believed to be the then heavily pregnant Pearson's house in the Hartlepool area.



OUR CHILDREN ARE NOT HALAL MEAT



CARL WILSON: Carl Wilson, from Liverpool, was thrown out of the army in 2000 for his involvement with Combat 18 and is now linked to the Combined Ex-Forces and the North West Infidels.

Wilson has a long history in the far-right and was a prominent activist within Combat 18. He was photographed with C18 and football hooligans during an attempted attack on the 1999 Bloody Sunday march in London. He took a dozen fellow soldiers to a C18 gig in Wigan and in 2001 was part of a 40-strong C18 and hooligan group prevented by police from attending the England v Pakistan cricket match during which they were planning to invade the pitch in an attempt to incite a violent response from Pakistan fans.



LIAM PINKHAM: Hardline Nazi Pinkham has been linked with openly violent nazi groups the British Freedom Fighters (BFF) and the Racial Volunteer Force (RVF). Today he is linked to the NWI and the National Front (NF).

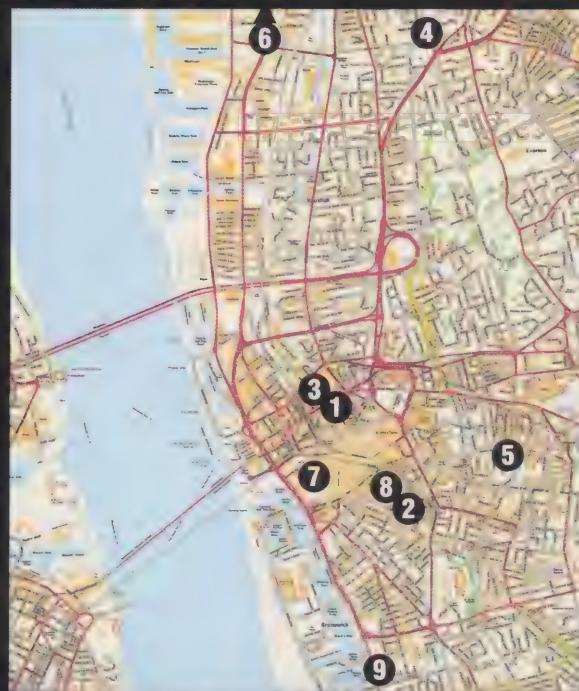
He is alleged to have been thrown out of the BFF by leader Mark Galpin after it was discovered Pinkham had an inappropriate relationship with a 15 year old girl.

Pinkham was close friends with convicted BFF leader Mike Heaton who was jailed in 2010 for racial hatred.

He has been to prison and has also been served with a football banning order.

History of violence

1. June 2010 Peter Tierney found guilty of assault and causing actual bodily harm to an anti-fascist protester on St George's Day 2009.
2. May 2011 Liverpool EDL occupy the radical "News from Nowhere" bookshop, harassing customers and staff.
3. August 2011 Andrew Tierney found guilty of assaulting an anti-fascist in Liverpool city centre.
4. February 2012 The far-right forced an Irish Republican march away from the city centre. Approximately 200 fascists from various groups turned out to oppose an Irish Republican Flute Band march in honour of the Irish Republican Sean Phelan.



5. April 2012 Attempt to attack an anti-fascist protest at Liverpool Guild of Students following the cancellation of a proposed mayoral election debate.
6. May 2012 Attempt to attack striking public sector workers on a picket line in Bootle.
7. May 2012 Protest outside Liverpool Crown Court, Rochdale grooming case.
8. July 2012 Far-right attack a musician due to play at an anti-fascist benefit gig in the city.
9. July 2012 A large police operation prevented clashes between far-right protesters and anti-fascist demonstrators at the annual James Larkin commemoration. The far-right claimed the marchers were pro IRA whereas those marching claiming they were celebrating the life of a well-known Liverpool trade unionist.

AN ISRAELI PICTURE ACROSS THE GLOBE

299

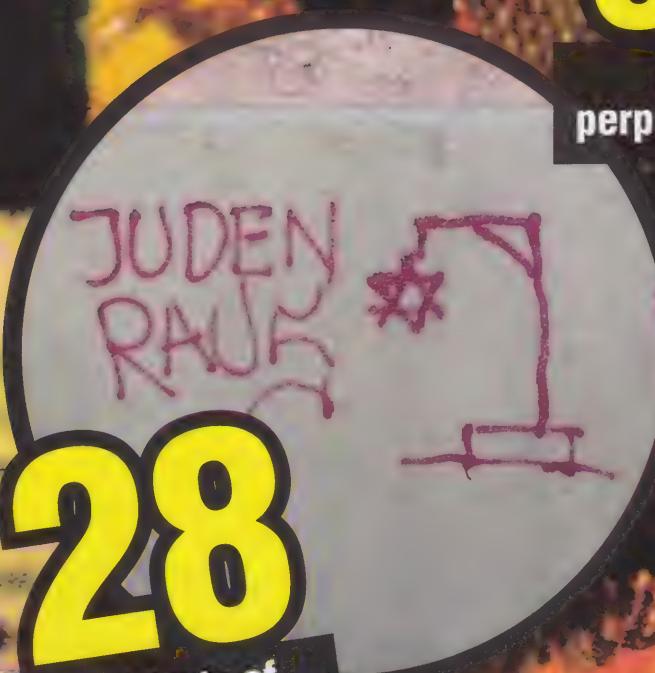
antisemitic incidents
between January
and June 2012



FOR
WORLD PEACE
ISRAEL MUST
BE DESTROYED

35%

of incidents
perpetrated by minors



28

incidents of
damage &
desecration of
Jewish property

2010
325

2011
294

2012
299

Number of
antisemitic
incidents
recorded by
CST in the first
six months of
each year



CST main findings

- 136 incidents where victims were random Jewish individuals
- 79% of the perpetrators were male
- 101 incidents showed evidence of political motivation
- 33 incidents were violent assaults

THERE WERE 299 reported antisemitic incidents in the first half of 2012 in the UK according to the Community Security Trust's (CST) Antisemitic Incidents Report which was published recently.

A further 214 reports of potential incidents were received by CST, but were not deemed to be antisemitic and were not included in the total.

The report shows that antisemitic incidents remained at a similar level in the first six months of 2012 compared to the same period in 2011.

CST is the Jewish community's defence organisation in the UK; it has been recording antisemitic incidents since 1984.

London and Manchester

Greater London saw a 48% rise in recorded antisemitic incidents, from 100 during the first half of 2011 to 148 this year. However this was put down not to an actual increase in attacks but to better recording in the form of a new incident exchange programme between CST and the Metropolitan Police Service, where the two agencies swap incident data that has been fully anonymised to comply with data protection requirements.

In Greater Manchester, where CST and Greater Manchester

Police have successfully operated an incident exchange programme since the beginning of 2011, the number of antisemitic incidents recorded by CST fell by 38%, from 125 in the first six months of 2011 to 78 in the first half of 2012. This may reflect a genuine fall in the number of incidents, as there has been no apparent change to incident recording patterns or services during that period.

CST spokesman Mark Gardner said "Although it is too soon to draw firm conclusions about the fall in reported incidents in Manchester, we hope that it may reflect the good work done by Greater Manchester Police in prosecuting and convicting offenders."

Violence

The report shows that there were 33 violent antisemitic assaults in the first six months of 2012, including one classified as 'Extreme Violence'; 28 incidents of damage & desecration of Jewish property; 217 incidents of abusive behaviour, including verbal abuse, antisemitic graffiti and one-off cases of hate mail; 18 direct antisemitic threats; and 3 cases of mass-mailed antisemitic leaflets or emails.

Of the 299 antisemitic incidents reported to CST during the first six months of 2012, 91, or 30 per cent, showed some evidence of political motivation. Of these, 71 incidents showed evidence of far right motivation; 15 incidents showed evidence of anti-Zionist motivation; and five showed evidence of Islamist motivation.

More information: The CST's full report can be found on their website at www.thecst.org.uk.

The website also contains information about how to report an antisemitic incident and how to support CST's work.



Where now for the far-right?

The British far-right should be having a ball. With the economy faltering, austerity biting and economic pessimism growing, the conditions for racism and racist scapegoating could hardly be better but, as *Nick Lowles* and *Matthew Collins* report, racist groups are contracting and morale is dropping. Will it always be like this?



In May, the British National Party (BNP) suffered what must have felt like their final electoral humiliation. A shrunken and shattered shell of its former self, the party lost their remaining seats in Amber Valley, Rotherham, Nuneaton and Bedworth, Burnley and Pendle. Across the country, what few other candidates the BNP had scraped together – with one or two notable exceptions – barely even registered a murmur.

"Hammered by Labour – same as everyone. No surprise, no disgrace," tweeted the BNP's leader Nick Griffin, desperate to put a positive spin on the defeat. Unable to turn government cuts and mass recession into racist gains, as so many had feared, column inches previously dedicated to the party's gradual rise have now been charting the party's decline for two years since the BNP's disastrous 2010 general and local election results.

The BNP now only has two borough councillors and one county councillor left; down from a high of 56 only 30 months ago. Its membership has plummeted from 14,000 to about 3,500 today and most of its key activists and organisers have left in demoralisation or in opposition to Griffin.

The BNP's demise had been mirrored by a rise in the English Defence League (EDL). Formed in June 2009 it quickly attracted supporters and media attention through its strategy of provocative demonstrations and aggressive anti-Muslim rhetoric. Thousands joined their marches and over 90,000 backed them on Facebook.

By 2010 it appeared that the EDL was replacing the BNP, but no more. While it can still mobilise considerably more people than the BNP, the fortunes of the EDL have also declined. Attendance at demonstrations have plummeted and now once loyal 'divisions' are openly calling for its leader Stephen

Lennon to stand down.

The rot began with Anders Breivik's massacre in Norway, as a once intrigued media turned on the anti-Muslim group highlighting its extremism and violence. Also, the group's strategy of endless demonstrations without any obvious and clear goals began to bore members. Hundreds of arrests coupled with tighter police restrictions, public revulsion and the introduction of kettling aimed at curtailing the wild excesses of EDL demonstrations has curtailed somewhat its long term viability. As a product, the EDL still remains toxic and dangerous, but more localised, spontaneous and autonomous.

Late last year EDL leader Stephen Lennon began an alliance with the British Freedom Party, a split off from the BNP, which culminated in him and his cousin joining them this April, but so far this has not reaped any political dividends. In fact it only exacerbated opposition within the EDL.

The end result is that the British far right is fragmented, demoralised and shrinking. Will it always be like this and if not, who will emerge dominant?

Economic pessimism

The conditions which gave rise to the electoral success of the BNP remain and are getting considerably worse. The economy has quite obviously deteriorated, living costs are rising and austerity cuts are decimating public services. The predictions are that things are only going to get worse.

The BNP did well between 2001 and 2009 in what are widely perceived as relatively benign economic conditions. While the headline figures such as unemployment and inflation were low and wages rose for most, not everyone felt this economic benefit and those who voted for the BNP felt anything but secure.

In 2009 YouGov polled 1,000 BNP voters in the European Elections as

part of a massive survey of attitudes of 32,000 people. Only 19% of BNP voters were confident that their "family will have the opportunities to prosper in the years ahead." This compared to 59% of Labour voters, 47% of Lib Dem voters and 42% of Conservative voters.

More recently, last year's *Fear and HOPE* study, by Searchlight Educational Trust, found that economic pessimism was the key driver in racism and hostility to 'newcomers'.

With the economic outlook worsening, and no upturn likely for several years, economic pessimism is growing. Ipsos MORI reported in June that 50% of British adults now think the economy will get worse in the next 12 months compared to just 18% who think it will improve.

There are other factors which have contributed to the rise of the far right in recent years and many of these too remain. The level of immigration into Britain has been a major concern to many voters, especially those who have voted for the BNP. While economic concerns have replaced immigration as a major concern for some voters it is never too far away from the minds of many.

The Government is shortly to announce a new wave of asylum dispersals around the country and this is likely to trigger local opposition, anger and possibly violence.

The enlargement of the EU over the next few years to incorporate several Balkan countries, such as Croatia, Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina is likely to reignite the debate over the free movement of people, something that will benefit the far-right.

But there are other factors which contributed to the rise of the far-right and many of these have not changed. The BNP benefited enormously from general voter disillusionment with politicians and disengagement with the main political parties.

While this was personified by the 'expenses' scandal, the break between voters and the political parties was something much more profound and it was most acutely felt by BNP voters.

According to the 2009 YouGov poll, 70% of BNP supporters thought there was "no real difference between Britain's three main parties" and 59% of BNP voters thought Labour "used to care about concerns of people like me but doesn't nowadays".

While the expenses scandal will fade from most people's memory, the disengagement with the political system will remain. Of course some disillusioned voters will return to Labour now the party is not in power, but these are unlikely to include the majority of those who once backed the BNP. There is plenty of evidence to show that the majority of BNP voters had either not voted before or had not voted in recent elections and therefore could potentially be re-engaged by a rejuvenated far right.

So, if the conditions remain fertile then we have to believe that at some stage the far-right will benefit, the question then is, which organisations?

Despite the many problems the BNP has faced in recent years it is still around and it is a 'brand' name for racism. Nick Griffin might be their biggest liability, because of his factionalism, mad schemes and political incompetence, but he is also a household name.

This will mean a lot, especially when the party approaches the 2014 European Elections, which are contested under Proportional Representation, and in which Griffin will be fighting to keep his North West seat. It should be remembered that the BNP polled 6.4% across the country in the 2009 European Elections, including votes of over 10% across towns where there was no BNP activism.

While the BNP has lost a lot of its members, key organisers and funders over the past

two years, it appears to have staved off bankruptcy due to a large inheritance. This was first revealed by HOPE not hate earlier this year and it will obviously hope to attract new members and funders if its fortunes improve.

Of course it will have to solve a fundamental problem of being a party committed to racial nationalism in a country which is increasingly accepting of people of all races and faiths. Even a lot of those people who oppose new immigration would balk at the BNP's hardline racist agenda. However, for the BNP to lose that would mean it loses its true identity.

The decline in the BNP has seen a number of small groups and political parties form, including the likes of Britain First and the Democratic Nationalists, while other disillusioned former BNP members have switched allegiances to the National Front and the English Democrats. While there have been tentative discussions between them about uniting there is little prospect of this, both while the BNP still exists and while the divisions between them all remain quite large.

Yorkshire & Humber MEP Andrew Brons has been touted as a possible leader of a new unified organisation, but Brons appears to lack the political will to lead, having already backed down from several planned splits from the BNP.

The BNP's prospects might be helped by the apparent disintegration of the English Defence League. What only recently appeared to be the obvious successors to the BNP, the EDL has struggled over the past 12 months as its supporters have become weary of seemingly pointless marches, no clear objectives and increasingly public opposition and police restrictions. The political tie-up with the British Freedom Party appears to have come to nothing, partly because the BFP leader Paul Weston is clearly incompetent. This

lethargy has led to prominent EDL activists now openly calling for leader Stephen Lennon to resign.

Over the past few months Griffin has been actively courting Lennon's enemies within the EDL splinter group the 'Infidels', which is a far more hardline and extreme group than the EDL. Last month Griffin produced a 46-page booklet attacking the EDL, entitled: *What Lies Behind the English Defence League? Neo-Cons, Ultra-Zionists and Their Useful Idiots*.

However, this strategy by Griffin is also fraught with political risk. While Griffin

years. The EDL has politically radicalised a generation of young men, many of whom are now desperately looking towards more radical and long-term alternatives such as the Infidels and Combined Ex-Forces, two more militant groups which grew out of the EDL through frustration.

We are also seeing more violent racist incidents from people who identify with the EDL, even if they have had no real contact with them. The EDL has become a 'brand' in its own right and it produces an imagery and temperament similar to the racist and violent image of the 1970s

decline in the BNP, especially when it attracted some of the BNP's more able organisers. However, the party remains marginalised and without the profile to attract a wider audience.

This leaves UKIP. While UKIP is regarded as a single-issue party focused on opposition to membership of the European Union it now has the opportunity to do to the Conservatives what the BNP did to Labour and in the process it could, just could, eclipse the BNP.

Research by Matthew Goodwin and Rob Ford have found that the political views of UKIP and BNP supporters differ little on questions of immigration and multiculturalism. While the BNP has generally attracted more working class support, compared to UKIP's strength in more traditionally Conservative areas, this could be beginning to change.

As Rob Ford eludes in this magazine, UKIP benefit from not being associated with extremism and violence – unlike the BNP – and the increasing convergence of immigration, culture, economic issues and the European Union might help it overcome the perception that it is a single issue party.

It should also be remembered that UKIP could well win the next European Elections and the publicity and support that this generates could sweep the BNP, and any other far-right party striving for electoral success, out of the picture.

The British far right is fragmented and bitterly divided and in the short term this will continue. While we might enjoy the short-term respite there is no room for complacency. Sooner or later the traditional far-right, in the guise of the BNP or EDL, or the Radical Right, in the guise of UKIP, will re-emerge as a major political threat. In the meantime, we should brace ourselves for an upsurge in organised and unorganised racist and political violence.

Sooner or later the traditional far right, in the guise of the BNP or EDL, or the Radical Right, in the guise of UKIP, will reemerge as a major political threat. In the meantime, we should brace ourselves for an upsurge in organised and unorganised racist and political violence

might ingratiate himself with some of the most violent and extreme people in the EDL's orbit, he pushes himself more to the right and associates his party with more violence. This might go down well with BNP activists who were attracted to the EDL's more confrontational approach, but it does not work well with voters. Study after study has shown that most Britons are appalled by political violence and a link with violence and thuggery has been one of the major barriers to BNP growth over the last ten years.

Violence

While political violence damages any far right party seeking electoral support it does attract support among the low level rank and file members as well as causing huge damage to local communities. One of the consequences of the decline of the BNP and the growth of the EDL has been the rise in political violence and we are likely to see this increase further over the coming few

National Front.

While the short-term future of the EDL looks bleak, it has galvanised, politicised and even 'franchised' tens of thousands of young men who, given a particular incident, such as a terrorist attack or some other outrage, could quickly reactivate their networks. This might not be under the direction of the EDL leadership but more about taking its name and aggressive message.

On a more organised level we are beginning to see a re-emergence of smaller, more aggressive fascist groups, such as the Racial Volunteer Force and some other old Combat 18-type networks. While these will probably remain talking shops, they too radicalise supporters, some of whom have been linked to various terrorist-related incidents in recent years.

That leaves two other possible groups to fill the political vacuum on the Right, the English Democrats and UKIP. The English Democrats had hoped to exploit the

Is the future UKIP?



Euroscepticism is now a powerful force for the radical right and as *Rob Ford* explains, UKIP is well placed to harness it



RADICAL RIGHT parties mobilise a complex mix of resentments, against immigration and multiculturalism, corrupt and self-serving elites, a liberal popular culture and the lax morals it tolerates, and the decline of national culture and national sovereignty. A growing number of parties across Europe have mobilised this heady, emotive mix of identity, anxiety and intolerance to break through into national political representation, and even into government.

Over the past decade, Europe has become more closely entwined with four of the central concerns of the radical right. Nationalist concerns about the loss of sovereignty to Europe have grown as evidence of the power of EU institutions, and popular rejection of that power, have accumulated.

Authoritarian voters, concerned about maintaining law and order and protecting society from threats have seen British governments losing battles with European institutions, particularly the European Court of Human Rights, over issues such as votes for prisoners and deportation of criminals.

Voters anxious about immigration see Europe looming larger too. Since the accession of the poorer post-communist "A8" countries in 2004, and the decision by the Blair government to accept unrestricted migration from these countries, central and Eastern Europe have become the principle source of unskilled labour migration to Britain. Populists mobilising hostility to immigration can say, with justification, that such migration can only be controlled by changing our relationship to Europe.

Europe has also emerged as a stronger theme in populist narratives railing against out of touch self-serving political elites. Populists can point to the frustration of public opinion in the repeated refusal of both Labour and the Conservatives to offer the public a referendum on Europe, or to

seriously consider proposals for any fundamental reform of relationships with the European Union. They can also point to the prominence in EU politics of senior political figures from both governing parties as evidence of an elite clique maintaining self-serving links with the lucrative and powerful Brussels gravy train.

In short, over the past decade it has become much easier for radical right politicians to argue that Europe is "the problem": the source of immigration threatening British jobs and cultural identity, the source of judicial rulings protecting terrorists and criminals who threaten British safety, the source of a corrupt and self-serving elite political culture, and the source of endless rules and legislation limiting British sovereignty and threatening British identity.

Europe also plays a second, subtler role for populist right wing politicians – it helps to legitimate them. The most successful radical right politicians are often, paradoxically, those who start by talking about something else (Ivarsflaten, 2006).

The contrasting treatment of BNP leader Nick Griffin and UKIP leader Nigel Farage over the past decade provides an example of this effect in action. Griffin's efforts to appeal to a more mainstream audience were hamstrung by his party's legacy of fascism and violence, which lead the media, other politicians, and the electorate to treat him as a pariah. Nigel Farage, by contrast, has been able to raise similar contentious questions about immigration, Islam and identity in mainstream political forums such as Question Time without being attacked as a racist or a fascist thanks to his roots in a more legitimate tradition of Eurosceptic politics.

My research with Matthew Goodwin and David Cutts suggests that UKIP have already been successful at mobilising beyond its core issue of Euroscepticism, developing an "uneasy coalition" of two distinct electorates.

"Strategic Eurosceptics" are older alienated Conservatives supporting UKIP as a means to express dissatisfaction with the mainstream status quo over Europe. "Polite xenophobes" are more economically insecure, working class voters who hold strongly populist views on a range of issues – including hostility to immigrants, anxiety about Islam and disaffection with mainstream politics – and who regard UKIP as an outlet for these views.

Recent political events have reduced the competition UKIP faces in building a "populist Eurosceptic" support base. The collapse of the BNP means UKIP now faces no competitor on the extreme right, leaving it free to recruit heavily from the 20% of the electorate who hold radical right views on a broad range of issues. In recent local elections some of UKIP's strongest performances have come in areas where the BNP has recently collapsed, suggesting it is already reaping these benefits. The constraints the Conservatives face in Coalition also leaves UKIP with more freedom to recruit from the centre-right on Europe but also on radical right issues such as law and order or immigration, and populist resentment of an out of touch governing class of "posh boys".

UKIP still faces formidable obstacles – such as balancing the demands of EU focussed activists and domestically focussed voters, and finding a way to break through the barriers presented by the first past the post electoral system used in local and Westminster elections. Despite this, Nigel Farage's party has an unprecedented opportunity, for at the very moment when its core issue of Europe has become intertwined with broader radical right domestic concerns over identity, security, and immigration, UKIP's main competitors on the mainstream and radical right have vacated the field.

■ ROB FORD is a Hallsworth Research Fellow at the University of Manchester

ROSTOCK

20 YEARS AFTER THE R

By Michael Klein.

20 years ago, the Lichtenhagen district of the Baltic coast city of Rostock was the scene of one of the worst racist pogroms to take place in post war-Germany.



Racist pogrom



OVER SEVERAL DAYS, hundreds of fascist-influenced rioters violently attacked asylum seekers and migrant workers with stones and petrol bombs, cheered on by as many as 3,000 local residents while the police looked on, apparently unable and unwilling to intervene. That no one was killed was a near-miracle.

As the main port of former East Germany, Rostock was hard hit economically in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, causing the jobless tally to rise daily. At the same time, a rising number of asylum seekers, many fleeing from the turmoil engendered by the collapse of the Soviet bloc and chaos in the Balkans, looked for a brighter and safer future in newly unified Germany.

This development was not to the liking of Germany's conservative-liberal coalition and was taken as an opportunity by the conservative party, the Christian Democrats (CDU), in particular, to demand a fundamental restriction of the right to asylum, supported by an inflammatory campaign of defamatory coverage by the tabloid media.

The poisonous atmosphere

generated by the right and the media, was seen as a green light by far right and racist youth who, for the best part of seven years, perpetrated thousands of violent racist attacks, many of them fatal, on asylum seekers and migrants and their homes and hostels.

High-ranking CDU politicians, including the then Chancellor Helmut Kohl, denied any political dimension in the wave of fire-bombings, beatings and murders and played down the violence as merely being a result of too much alcohol and juvenile delinquency.

At the same time, they used these attacks to argue that only a drastic restriction of the right to asylum would slash the number of refugees and, thereby, the number of racist attacks.

In 1990, Lichtenhagen was one of the central reception points for asylum seekers in the north-eastern state of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania. However, the regional authorities failed dismally to take care properly of the basic needs of the many asylum seekers arriving. As a result, growing numbers were living, much to the annoyance of local people, in grossly inadequate

sanitary conditions outside the central reception building where the authorities refused even to provide portable toilets, water or collect refuse.

Officials also ignored the complaints of the local population who were largely unfamiliar with ethnic minorities because, even in the "socialist" German Democratic Republic, migrant workers from Asia and Southern Africa were generally kept isolated from the majority population.

As the number of threats to resolve the situation with violence mounted, the state authorities did nothing. Then, on the evening of 22 August 1992, the situation exploded when some 200 nazis and about 1,000 local people gathered in front of the eleven-storey refugee building and started throwing stones and firebombs. At the time, despite all the previous evidence of rising tension, only 35 policemen were on the spot.

The situation re-occurred the next day until the asylum-seekers were bussed out to insults and jeers from the assembled "German mob". While this was a success for racists and nazis who claimed to have





On Tuesday 20 November 2001, the regional court began the trial of three men who took part in the August 1992 riots targeting foreigners in Rostock-Lichtenhagen.

"purified" the area, about 115 Vietnamese "guest" workers, a social worker and a TV crew stayed behind in a neighbouring tower block that rapidly became a new target for the crowds.

On the evening of 24 August, 800 militant rightists, many travelling from all over Germany, set fire to the building, loudly and enthusiastically applauded by about 3,000 people. The people in the building were locked in and only survived because they were able to flee onto the roof of the blazing building.

An attempt to resist the fascists with an anti-fascist demonstration in Lichtenhagen was brutally dispersed by riot-clad police who made mass arrests, the same police who had scandalously given the racist rioters a free hand.

While, in the following days there were demonstrations across Germany against racism and far-right violence in Rostock, on the political level, the events only increased pressure on the opposition Social Democrats to agree to a change of the constitution that had previously given the right of asylum pride of place in light

of Germany's hideous Nazi past. Eventually, in late May 1993, a two-thirds majority of members of the German parliament gave way to fundamental restrictions to the right to asylum.

The Rostock pogrom was just one of several headline-hitting violent racist activities in Germany in the early 1990s. A similar pogrom, in the Saxon town of Hoyerswerda in September 1991 and arson attacks in West German towns of Mölln and Solingen (in which a total of eight immigrant family members died) marked the violent campaign.

Rostock, however, played a particular role because the events were interpreted by the organised far-right to suggest that the population had begun to stand up against immigration, that protests could succeed in driving asylum-seekers away with the connivance of the authorities and that large numbers would even sanction violent action against migrants. The events in Rostock are still hailed by right-wing extremists as a model of how self-styled "resistance" can work in a racist context.

In 2002, ten years after the pogrom, racist youngsters

from the Rostock area petrol-bombed an Asian fast-food stall and an Asian supermarket and mid-August 2012 saw an arson attack on a left-wing housing project in the city. Proud of all this, the nazi National Democratic Party glorifies the 1992 pogrom as a "people's uprising".

Today, many people living in Rostock still do not want to be reminded of the racist rampage that took place in their home city. Even twenty years later, they continue to portray themselves and their city as the victims of the events and argue that the media has exaggerated what happened. A critical assessment of the role of bystanders who supported the violent nazi thugs in several ways has not taken place so far. Empathy for the victims, needless to say, is rare.

City officials, meanwhile, try to deal with the ongoing stigma by changing the image of the area with a call to people to send in photos that can prove that a positive change has taken place over the last twenty years. Meanwhile, any in-depth debate about racism amongst the general population is

studiously avoided.

One of the main speakers to address a memorial meeting in Rostock in late August will be Federal German President Joachim Gauck. Born in Rostock, he was recently appointed a freeman of the historic Hanseatic city. He will, undoubtedly, ritually and strongly condemn the pogrom but a clear analysis, identifying responsibility and pointing specifically to the deep-seated collective racist prejudices – in both state institutions and among broad swathes of the population – that sparked off the disturbances will probably not form part of his speech.

This will not assist today's representatives of the Vietnamese community in Rostock which fears blaming racist attitudes and tries to maintain a low profile in order not to create, even twenty years on, further hostile reaction by the ethnic German population.

Anti-fascist groups will be staging a demonstration in the city at the end of August. As in 1992, they will probably be viewed by the right-wing and the police as the real troublemakers....

Miners defend Santiago Colliery
Foto: Javier Bauluz/Piravan for PeriodismoHumano



HOPE not hate aids Spanish miners' fight

Graeme Atkinson and Paul Meszaros report

THE SPANISH MINERS' SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE – launched and led by former miners and HOPE not hate activists in Britain – raised and sent €30,000 to Spain for the Spanish miners and their families by the time the 3-months' long pit strike was suspended on 3 August.

The miners were striking to prevent the conservative Rajoy government imposing a 63% cut in the subsidy to their industry. This would spell the end of Spain's 42 pits and the mountain communities that depend on them, just as pit closures did for pits and mining communities in Britain in the 1980s and 1990s. The Committee's efforts were assisted by the National Union of Mineworkers, the Durham Miners' Association, the National Justice for Mineworkers Campaign and ex-miners and their allies.

The Spanish miners have a special place in the fight against fascism historically and reserve special venom for today's exponents, ripping down fascist posters that claimed to support them, at a massive trade union anti-austerity demonstration in Madrid on 11 July.

The evening before, a column of about 200 miners from the northern coalfields of Aragon, León and Asturias finished

a gruelling 18-day trek of 460km to the Spanish capital where their march was greeted by half-a million supporters.

Before the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent installation of General Francisco Franco's fascist government, the Asturian miners were involved in an unsuccessful anti-fascist armed uprising in 1934 in which 2,000 of them were killed. After Franco's victory, many miners took to the mountains to conduct sporadic guerrilla warfare into the 1940s against the fascists' murderous rule.

In 1962, the pitmen and their communities went on "illegal" strike against sackings and victimisations that escalated into a battle for wage increases which the dictatorship was forced to grant despite subjecting the miners to arrests, deportation, imprisonment and torture.

After Franco's death in 1975, their organisations evolved into today's main trade union federation, the CCOO which, together with FITAG-UGT, led the recent strike.

HOPE not hate's support for the miners was unhesitating and unstinting because the Spanish miners have *always* supported anti-fascists in Spain and internationally and were owed the support we so proudly helped to provide.



(top to bottom) Police attack Soton Colliery
Miners build barricade at Santiago Colliery
Madrid greets striking miners
Photos: Javier Bauluz/Piravan for PeriodismoHumano

The Right's drive to stop Obama

From Eric O'Neill in Washington DC

The election of Barack Obama in 2008 invigorated the hopes of millions. Obama, as the first African American to be elected to the nation's highest office, represented the best chance to repair the country's troubles while laying the groundwork for an expansive democracy. Four years later, the 2012 Presidential election will be critical but not for all the reasons people think.

The Republican Party increasingly believes that to regain power it must establish itself as the political party of white America. Interestingly, it appears that the deepest divisions leading up to this election may be among whites themselves.

The far right *Middle American News* summarises the situation as follows: "With the election of Barack Obama as the first black president, America's core white population group has lost control of the country it founded more than 200 years ago."

The colour line

To some, President Obama represents the desire to construct a single American identity grounded upon the principles of a post-racial democracy and, for others, a chance to reinstate the politics of exclusion fuelled by white nationalism and racial and ethnic divisions. In 2012, every vote will act as a compass leading toward the elimination or redefinition of what W. E. B. Du Bois called America's colour line.

Certain moments in US history define the politics of race in America. John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry led to the abolition of slavery and the Selma to Montgomery Civil Rights' marches ensured federal voting rights legislation and the death of official segregation. The election of Barack Obama as President heralded the symbolic rise of an inclusive society and a clear rejection of the concept of white supremacy.

Throughout U.S. history, however,

advances against bigotry and exclusion trigger political backlashes and the 2008 election of Obama was no different. Since the election, the Republican Party and its motley *ensemble* of special interest groups, including Tea Partyists, Bachmannists, Palinites, 'Birthers' and white nationalists, have made it a priority to undermine the President politically.

Ideological differences aside, these political factions share a belief that a collective intensification of attacks against Obama and his administration represent a sound strategy for ensuring that there is no second term for a black President.

On 1 and 3 December 2008, a group calling themselves the We the People Foundation, headed by Robert Shultz, ran full-page ads in the *Chicago Tribune* questioning Obama's citizenship. Shultz, a long time far-right tax protester, also promotes anti-tax theories based on the belief that as a "free white sovereign male" he is not required to pay income tax. The pro-gun National Rifle Association (NRA) sought to sow fears and suspicions of the President by claiming Obama planned to pass laws that would allow government agencies to confiscate guns from citizens' homes. While these rumours were completely unfounded, the rhetoric served its purpose, swelling the ranks of the NRA.

Anti-immigrant conspiracies

In a 2009 show of force, the Right marshalled in an attempt to sabotage Obama's appointment of Sonia Sotomayor, the first Latino to be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Despite Sotomayor's earlier 1991 appointment to the federal court by a Republican President, the Republican Party allowed its pet attack dog, talk radio host Rush Limbaugh, to compare the Sotomayor to a Ku Klux Klansman. Mark Krikorian, a regular contributor to the conservative National Review

Online, openly mocked the Judge's Latino last name. The Republican Party responded not with condemnation but by remaining silent.

The 2009 disruptions at local town hall meetings discussing the Obama administration's health care proposals had less to do with health care than with who got access (minorities need not apply). For many of its leaders and rank and file the undercutting of Obama was not simply a matter of national policy but also an opposition to his blackness. It is not surprising that many of the comments made by those disrupting these public events quickly turned to anti-immigrant rants and conspiracies about whites facing martial law. Underlying the protests was not opposition to health care but the belief that "white America" is under attack.

When white nationalist Peter Brimelow of VDARE argued that the only way the Republican Party could remain viable was by becoming a virtual white only political party, the Republican Party did not reaffirm its "Big Tent Strategy". Instead it allowed its base and leadership to publicly undercut respected leaders like Colin Powell who called on the party to be more, not less inclusive.

Three years later, the Republican Party has moved further away from Colin Powell and closer towards Brimelow. In March 2012, the Conservative Political Action Conference, the premier conservative gathering, provided a platform for Brimelow who declared "Democrats have given up on winning the white working class vote, so they use bilingualism to build up a client constituency."

Indeed, Obama only won the White House in 2008 with 43 percent of the white vote. This is the lowest ratio ever by a winning president. This was discussed online, in papers, and on television as if somehow winning the majority of the white vote grants a form of legitimacy that other votes do not.



Racial hysteria

Undeniably, past and present polling points to a core of white voters who consciously or unconsciously embrace a form of racially constructed hysteria. The numbers don't lie. Eighty-nine percent of the Republican Party is white. Less than a quarter of Republicans accept that Obama was born in the United States, nearly a quarter of Republicans accept as true that Obama is the anti-Christ and a quarter of U.S. citizens believe the President is lying when he declares himself a Christian.

Republican elements argue this is evidence of a racially conscious white voting bloc. However the Devil is in the details and what emerges from these polls and others actually points to a deepening political rift within the white electorate itself. Much of the discussion ignores the fact that a Democratic candidate hasn't won the majority of the white vote since Lyndon B. Johnson and glosses over the news that in 2008 Obama garnered a higher percentage of white voters of any non-incumbent Democratic candidate.

Two distinct groupings of white voters now exist: those opposed to Obama primarily on racial/religious grounds and those sympathetic to an expansive democracy. David Weigel of the Washington Independent points out that this intra-racial division of white

voters can also be mapped out along geographic lines. A poll conducted for the political blog Daily Kos shows a clear difference between the views of whites in the South and whites in the West and Midwest. In regard to whether Obama was born in the United States, Weigel says "While around 90 percent of people in the Northeast, Midwest and West know that Obama was born in United States, only 47 percent of people in the South believe this. Twenty-three percent think he was born somewhere else; 30 percent don't know."

Republicans have sought to energize white racialised voters by affirming 'Birther' conspiracies, fuelling anti-Muslim hysteria and flagging up Mitt Romney's 'Anglo-Saxon' heritage. U.S. Rep. Michelle Bachmann, a Republican congress member has accused other elected and White House officials of being part of a Muslim Brotherhood conspiracy to destroy America. Despite the crass Islamophobia reminiscent of 1950s' McCarthyism, Bachmann was able to raise one million US dollars in July alone.

At the same time Republicans seek to calm white moderate fears of being associated with racial extremists by utilizing tactics such as seemingly exploring the vice-presidential candidacy of former African American Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice. In July, Romney spoke to the

NAACP, the leading black civil rights' institution. Again, this was not to reach black audiences but whites who are uncomfortable with racialised rhetoric. In other moves to assure white voters, the Republican Super Political Action Committee (SuperPAC) called FightBigotry went so far as to launch a series of ads in August of this year accusing President Obama of racism against whites.

SuperPACs are not affiliated with and forbidden from directly coordinating with political campaigns but they can support or oppose candidates. The FightBigotry ad is edited so that it falsely appears that President Obama is speaking prejudicially of his grandmother who was white.

Disenfranchising minority votes

Organising a portion of the white vote will only work for Republicans if minorities don't turn out in large numbers. To ensure this Republican Party leaders have stepped up attempts to suppress the black and Latino vote. Florida Republican Party Chairman Jim Greer told the sometimes contentious civil rights leader Al Sharpton during an interview on MSNBC television that "There's no doubt that what the Republican-led legislature in Florida and Governor Scott are trying to do is make sure the Republican Party has an advantage in this upcoming election by reducing early voting and putting roadblocks up for potential Latino, African-Americans to register and then to exercise their right to vote. There's no doubt. I was in the room. It's part of the strategy."

Beyond policy disagreements the political Right seeks the defeat the presidency of Barack Obama as a bulwark against changing racial and ethnic demographics. They seek an unprincipled hold on power by playing on the racial fears of some whites and disenfranchising the votes of minorities.

The 2012 election is the moment when the politics of fear can be overwhelmingly rejected by the public but those so committed should be careful about using a broad brush in regard to America's white electorate.

A segment of the white electorate rejects the concept of a racialised country. These voters should be engaged and organised around social issues such as education, health, environmental justice, jobs, and worker safety this election season. These are issues that expand opportunity for all without ignoring the need to address the reality of modern bigotry. These voters will signal the future direction of America in November.

GREECE Nazis exploit Greek economic meltdown

By Graeme Atkinson

RECENT MONTHS saw millions of TV viewers around the world watch Ilias Kasidiaris, a fascist MP, hurl water over female fellow MP Rena Dourou before punching another woman, the Communist MP Liana Kanelli, three times in the face. Also receiving international media coverage was Greek triple jumper Voula Papachristou, who was sent home from the London 2012 Olympics for dishing out racist abuse to fellow athletes on the internet and praising the party of the punch up-prone MP.

Meanwhile, Kasidiaris' party, Golden Dawn, now has 18 seats in the Greek Parliament after electioneering on an anti-immigrant platform with the slogan "So we can rid this land of filth". It has organised blood donor sessions

"strictly for Greeks only", an illegal move condemned as "outrageous" by doctors and medical authorities and started free food handouts for the poor and jobless in Ilion, Athens and other areas, but again "for Greeks only".

It is a party which from the outset unashamedly supported Nazism and stoked violence against the fascists' traditional targets. Golden Dawn leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos now claims his party is "Greek nationalist", in the tradition of homegrown pre-war fascist dictator Ioannis Metaxas.

This same outfit wants to plant landmines on the Greek-Turkish border to prevent the influx of refugees and undocumented migrants. It has also promised to deport all illegal immigrants, and conduct raids on hospitals and kindergartens to evict

immigrant children forcibly.

None of this is the behaviour one would associate with a country which many wrongly believe was the wellspring of democracy and civilisation. But then "democracy" and "civilisation" are victims of the economic crisis in Greece today. Soaring unemployment now stands at 23.1% with youth unemployment at 54.9%. 1.15 million people are unemployed with 3.82 million in work out of a total population of under 11 million.

The growth of the far-right has to be viewed in the context of the political and economic crisis in the country. Greece, its national debt, a staggering, €300 billion, has only escaped bankruptcy by soliciting massive international rescue loans from the so-called "Troika": the European Union, the European Central Bank,

and the IMF. In return, Athens governments have sought to impose harsh austerity measures to axe government spending and increase tax income.

The current three-party – New Democracy, PASOK and Democratic Left – coalition government of Antonis Samaras is trying to identify another €11.5 billion worth of cuts for 2013-14 needed to secure its next bailout payment of €31.5 billion at the start of September, the economy having shrunk in the second quarter of 2012 by 6.5%.

The results have been that the Greek people have been hard-hit by the €43 billion of cuts already imposed since 2010. Forty thousand public sector jobs are to go. Pensions, pay and welfare benefits have been slashed, hospitals are short of medicines, many

GREECE FAR RIGHT PARTIES

Golden Dawn

- 1980 – founded by its leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos, an open supporter of Greek military dictatorships (1936-1941 and 1967-1974).
- While jailed for terrorist offensives, including illegal possession of explosives, Michaloliakos met leaders of the 1967-74 junta. On his release, he launched the magazine Golden Dawn.
- 1985 – Golden Dawn formed as a party, officially registered in 1993.
- Spawned the football hooligan mob Galazia Stratia (Blue Army), one of whose members, Pantelis Kazakos, shot nine immigrants, killing two, in Athens in October 1999.
- September 2006, leading Golden Dawn activist Antonios Androutsopoulos (aka Periandros) was jailed for 21 years, after being on the run – with police

complicity – for seven years, for the attempted murder of three left-wing students in 1998.

- Golden Dawn's members figure in the worst post-war massacre in Europe: Srebrenica.
- The Greek nazis were in Bosnia in a 100-strong unit, the Greek Volunteer Guard (GVG), that was part of the Drina Corps of war criminal Ratko Mladic's murderous Serb Army. GVG "soldiers" were present in

Srebrenica during the mass murder of more than 8,000 Bosnian Muslims. Golden Dawn members were duly decorated for their services by the war criminal former Serbian president Radovan Karadžić.

- Internationally, Golden Dawn has had ties to convicted terrorist Roberto Fiore's Forza Nouvo in Italy, the nazi National Democratic Party in Germany and the nazi National Alliance in the USA.



- In 2005, it tried to stage an international nazi camp which was banned after international protests.

How the far-right vote switched

The Golden Dawn vote

Euro Parliamentary 2009 – 23,566 votes – 0.46%	
Greek Parliamentary October 2009 – 19,636 votes – 0.29%	
Greek Parliamentary May 2012 – 441,018 votes – 6.97% – won 21 seats	
Greek Parliamentary June 2012 – 425,990 votes – 6.92% – won 18 seats	

The LAOS vote

European Parliamentary 2009 – 366,615 votes – 7.14% – won 2 seats	
Greek Parliamentary October 2009 – 386,152 votes – 5.63% – won 15 seats	
Greek Parliamentary May 2012 – 183,467 votes – 2.90 – lost all 15 seats	
Greek Parliamentary June 2012 – 97,094 votes – 1.58% – won no seats	

workers have not been paid for months, and entire families have resorted to soup kitchens or to scavenge from rubbish dumps.

This year's May general election failed to produce a government willing to inflict the cuts demanded by the "Troika" in return for February's €130 billion bailout package and, following a second ballot in June, the present fragile government was only cobbled together with difficulty.

Golden Dawn has taken advantage of the crisis to propel itself onto the political stage, enabling it to get a hearing for its strident extremism which it presents as a solution to the country's problems.

Until a few months ago, Golden Dawn was little known. When it fielded candidates in the June 2009 European elections, it polled a miserable 0.46%, a mere 26,566 votes in all, but in the May and June elections it stunned observers by winning 21 and then 18 seats, respectively, in Parliament and wiping out its far-right rival LAOS.

Greek political analyst Spyros Marchetos says the party's electorate now has an even geographical spread and sex distribution, slightly higher among men and in rightwing areas, and also a definite social basis – mainly small proprietors, unemployed, members of the security forces, plus the criminal underworld... classic fascist voting fodder, nourished by the media. Significantly, 40% of voters abstained in June.

The consequences have been grim: a massive escalation of racist violence and murder with police – over 50% of whom allegedly voted nazi – looking the other way, Golden Dawn's shaven-skinned, black T-shirted,

steroid-bloated, militarised hooligans swaggering around impoverished suburbs as anti-immigrant vigilantes, spouting hate in violation of the law, without fear of prosecution and assaulting people at will.

Since Golden Dawn shot to national prominence, life has worsened for immigrants who have become the victims of murder and daily beatings and stabbings, many carried out by nazi hit-and-run motorcycle gangs.

A new report by Human Rights Watch has warned that xenophobic violence in Greece has reached "alarming proportions" and accuses the authorities, "in stark contrast to government reassurances", of failing to stop it. At least

500 immigrants have been hospitalised as a result of racist violence in the first half of 2012, almost double the number of the same period in 2011.

While Golden Dawn has risen to prominence during the present crisis it is not in itself a product of it. Rather, it is the latest virulent expression of a residual undercurrent of support for violent right-wing extremism in Greece that has existed since before WWII and was never uprooted.

It is now a serious threat, however, whose open war on the left, the trade unions, Jews and immigrants requires a united anti-fascist response that is capable of defending those it targets.

Government anti-immigrant crackdown

Feeling the heat of Golden Dawn's rise and the fascist campaign of violence, the conservative-led coalition government launched a big crackdown, code-named "Xenios Zeus", after the ancient Greek God of hospitality, in August.

In a massive police round-up, involving more than 4,500 officers, over 8,000 alleged illegal immigrants – mainly African or Asian people – were detained for documents checks and 1,650 arrested and interned in detention camps. Prime Minister Antonis Samaras claims this is part of his effort to maintain social peace but Civil Protection Minister Nikos Dendias – echoing Golden Dawn's rhetoric – claims the "invasion" of illegal immigrants has brought Greece to the "brink of collapse".

Amnesty International, the Greek Council of Refugees, the European Council on Refugees. Human Rights Watch and Greek opposition parties have all condemned the police crackdown and called for it be halted.

GREECE VIOLENCE MAP



- Sells the nazi terrorists' bible, The Turner Diaries on its website.
- Michaloliakos, denied the Nazi Holocaust in May 2012: "There were no ovens, no gas chambers, it's a lie ... Auschwitz, what Auschwitz?"

LAOS (Popular Orthodox Rally)

- LAOS is a right-wing nationalist formation which questions the validity of parliamentary democracy, is stridently anti-immigration and opposed to the European Union and to Turkish accession to the latter.
- 2001 – founded as a split from conservative New Democracy by Georgios Karatzafiris, an antisemitic journalist.
- 2005 – fused with the ultra-right Hellenic Front.
- 2007 to May 2012 – MPs in the Greek Parliament.
- Its support for the package of austerity measures caused its voter support to drift away to Golden Dawn.

Britain First

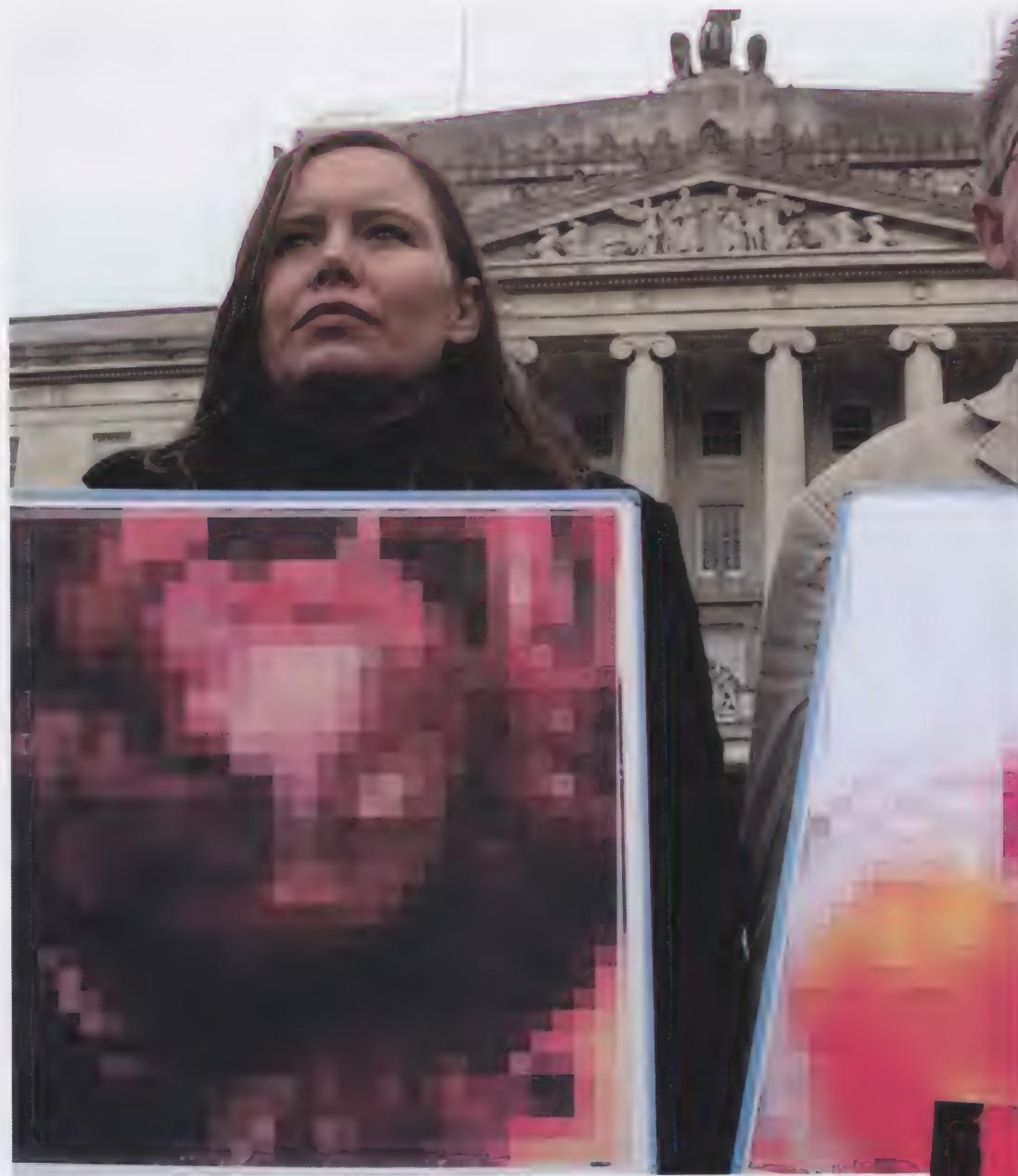
BRITAIN FIRST (BF) is the brainchild of James Dowson, the man who was once dubbed 'the person who owned the BNP'.

A shadowy figure in the world of evangelical Protestantism and anti-abortion activity, Dowson made contact with the BNP in 2007 offering his services as a man with a record of get-rich-quick schemes. Originally from Scotland, he'd set himself up in Belfast, Northern Ireland where he took a keen advantage of religious fervour.

Dowson's anti-abortion activities and close relationship with Loyalist paramilitaries were seen as positive attributes by the BNP's leadership, who were dazzled by Dowson's patter and promises of riches.

Nick Griffin eventually moved the entire BNP operation to Belfast – under Dowson's control – with Griffin's daughter Jennifer entrusted to Dowson's care. We dubbed Dowson as Griffin's consigliere in 2009 and meanwhile, as the party faltered after the 2010 local and government elections, anti-Griffin factions within the BNP saw Dowson as Griffin's Achilles' heel and began campaigning against him.

Dowson and the BNP parted company in October 2010 but it was another six months before BF was formed. In the intervening time Dowson



KEY POLITICS

- Britain First is not a political party, its political wing – the National People's Party (NPP) – was stillborn in June 2011 as Dowson appointed Paul Golding as chair in the hope that BF could merge with any new party formed with Andrew Brons as leader.
- BF claim it is not a racist or fascist organisation, yet it propagandises on the traditional far-right issues of Islam, immigration and abortion. It encourages its members to carry out actions like mass emailing and letter writing in a campaign to "Put Britons First", which the organisation appears to define as anyone who is Christian. So far, it claims that over thirty thousand "actions" have been taken.
- The BF is closely aligned with the black-led organisation the "Christian People's Party", which also had a small dalliance with the BNP when Dowson was fundraising for them.
- If religion has replaced race as the clarion call in the BF, it does not appear to feel the need to proselytise or seemingly recruit to its cause either non-Christians or BNP hardliners.
- In a series of articles written by Dowson for the "British Resistance" website, which is one of the more vocal of the anti-Griffin factions, between August 2011 and March 2012 Dowson eulogised evangelically against Pagans, Odinists and nazis in favour of a society dominated by Christianity.
- Recently BF mailed out thousands of copies of a glossy publication it is alleged was lifted from the BNP's offices about "Muslim grooming". Its targets were mainly the Muslim community and politicians, not perspective recruits. BF is what the BNP most feared it would become.



preoccupied himself with trying to undermine the BNP at every opportunity.

In May 2011 Dowson, along with Paul Golding, a former BNP councillor and editor of the BNP's flagship magazine, announced the formation of a campaign group to protect "British and Christian morality" and sent an internet and glossy mail shot to some 40,000 names that Dowson had allegedly acquired from his time with the BNP.

Hoping to gain an invitation to join rebel BNP MEP Andrew Brons in a new venture, Dowson also sent another glossy brochure attacking a number of high profile BNP officials during the BNP's July 2011 leadership election. BF was born to attack Griffin.

Close to a thousand people responded to BF's launch with either cash or membership, but very quickly, aside from a few regional meetings, it became apparent that the organisation was not interested in being the alternative to Griffin's party. BF was more interested in fundamentally changing the direction of the far-right to a trajectory later followed by the British Freedom Party. BF is squeezed between its fascist roots and its religious ambitions.



KEY PERSONNEL

Jim Dowson: Former Calvinist Minister who helped run the BNP between 2007-2010. Controversial businessman who has received funding from the European union in the past. Having built the BNP up, has made it his business to knock it down again. A powerful anti-Griffinite, if not an effective politician.



Paul Golding: The BF's national chairman, Golding is former head of publicity for the BNP as well as a failed councillor in Sevenoaks, Kent. Golding was one of the high flyers in the BNP's 'Brat Pack' during the last decade. Golding is the BF's Chairman and a recent convert to Christianity which comes hand in hand with being a minor business partner of Dowson.

Andy McBride: Former South East regional organiser of the BNP, in 2010 McBride launched a series of factional attacks on Griffin's enemies, before resigning in March 2011. McBride joined Dowson and Golding in plotting Griffin's downfall and was a keynote speaker at last year's "Way Forward" conference of the anti-Griffin crowd.

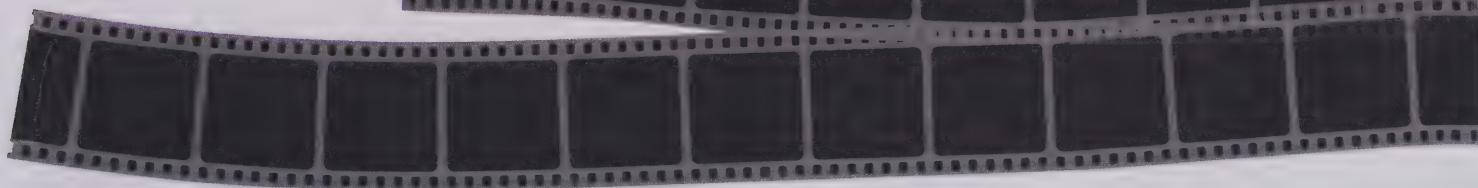


Gary Raikes: Former Scotland BNP organiser, Raikes was imposed on Scotland which caused some anger due to him being English. Has continued his fine tradition by doing nothing in his role as BF's Scottish organiser.



Kevin Edwards: Former BNP community councillor from Wales who quit the BNP over its violence.

For the latest on Britain First and other far-right groups visit www.hopenothate.org.uk/news



Searching for Sugar Man

Review by Matt Hanley

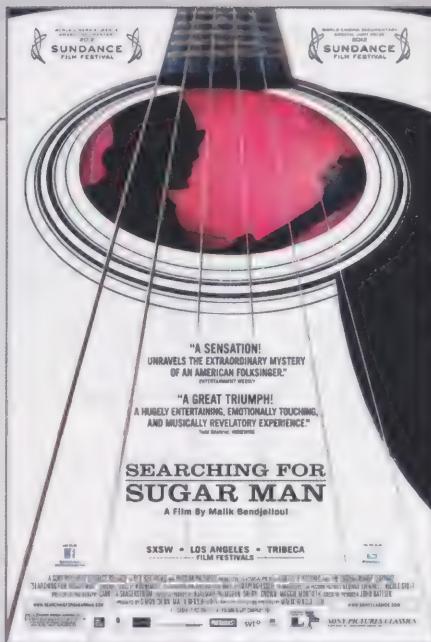
AT THE END of the 1960s, Prime Minister John Vorster's South Africa was a deeply racist and conservative country, completely cut-off and unaffected by the decade's social revolutions that ripped up and reorganised society in Western Europe and the US.

In 1970 in Michigan, USA, far away from South Africa, a young Mexican-American singer-songwriter called Sixto Rodriguez released an album called *Cold Fact*, a frankly beautiful collection of poetic and socially engaged songs that he had been singing around Detroit bars. Sitting comfortably among folk agitators like Neil Young, Bob Dylan and Gene Clark, in *Cold Fact* Rodriguez reflected the harsh economic realities of the flipside of the American dream with gentle, indirect putdowns of straight society and its political class.

Unlike the music of his noted contemporaries, however, and for reasons that nobody in the music industry can quite understand, *Cold Fact* flopped. Despite favourable reviews, so did Rodriguez's 1971 follow-up *Coming from Reality*. According to the film, that should have been the end of Sixto's music career.

However, long before the globalisation of the music industry, a copy of *Cold Fact* made its way to South Africa via, it is thought, an American woman visiting her South African partner.

The album's anti-establishment spirit and provocative lyrics resonated with a stirring youth movement. In a country where music and literature was scanned for perceived anti-government messages or sentiments deemed 'inappropriate', songs about drugs *Sugar Man*, political corruption, *Establishment Blues*, and subversive lyrics like 'I wonder how many times



you had sex, and I wonder do you know who'll be next' *I Wonder* were radical, emotive and inspirational to a new generation of urban South African musicians and poets.

Bootleg copies of *Cold Fact* spread quickly throughout the country. South African label Sussex Records negotiated distribution rights and, despite being banned on radio – and imported vinyl records arriving in shops with 'offensive' tracks physically scratched out rendering them unplayable – the officially released album is estimated to have sold around 500,000 copies.

In South Africa, Sixto Rodriguez became 'bigger than Elvis' and emerged as the unofficial leader and inspiration behind a youth movement challenging the country's conservatism and the apartheid system.

In the words of one activist, the songs of *Cold Fact*, supporting the voiceless and the working poor, gave activists for the first time an opportunity to free their minds and think differently. Crucially, this emancipation movement was led by groups of white Afrikaans, as opposed to blacks, rejecting the racist

politics of their peers and parents.

As Dylan was to the US counter-culture, so Rodriguez was to the South Africa's.

But Rodriguez knew absolutely nothing about it. He neither received news about South Africa nor money from the half a million sales.

Searching for the Sugar Man (the title referencing the opening track of *Cold Fact*) follows the story of a few South African activists and music journalists who were keen to find out more about this musical enigma.

Having long believed that Rodriguez had committed suicide on stage, back in the early 1970s, they were amazed to discover, only in 2007, that he was in fact alive and working on a Detroit building site. Overjoyed, they bring the singer over to South Africa, where, for the first time in his life, his music could be fully appreciated.

This endearing and uplifting climax makes a fitting tribute to the wonderful *Searching for the Sugar Man* and, finally, as Peter Bradshaw in the Guardian points out:

Searching for Sugar Man "...is an interesting footnote to a species of secret or denied cultural history: the history of South Africa's white liberal classes, the fabric of whose lives may be overlooked by social historians. Not all whites were philistine racists: many were trapped by history and fate and the apartheid laws they detested. Rodriguez's music gave them a voice – and helped indirectly to change things. This movie might itself make a modest contribution to rewriting the history of white South Africa."

Writer-Director Malik Bendjelloul,
Sony Pictures Classics
2012

HOPE not hate in the community



Inspire Hackney

By Andrea Enisuoh

HACKNEY UNITES have just produced our sixth tabloid in partnership with HOPE not hate. As usual the tabloid is full of campaigning articles about Hackney, but it also contains many stories about the positive work going on in the borough.

Just over a year on from the riots that devastated parts of the Hackney we also thought it would be good to showcase some of the community's attempts to rebuild. It is just as important to celebrate what's good about Hackney as what we need to organise against.

This is just one of the reasons that we have organised Inspire Hackney! – an event to bring Hackney's communities together – and give them a voice and a forum to discuss ways of organising. A key part of the tabloid is to promote this event and the sessions that will be taking place.

From sessions on knowing your rights and protecting yourselves from dishonest landlords, to young people, the police, and stop and search, we have articles from people doing work in these areas. Then there is the Borough of Sanctuary campaign to make Hackney a welcoming place for refugee and migrant communities.

Community organising techniques are key to what Hackney Unites is all about. We have a feature on this in the tabloid and we will be discussing ways to organise at our Inspire Hackney! event. Community learning, mentoring and organising unemployed workers are other issues we feature.

We see our tabloid as a way to promote the good things that are happening in Hackney, but even more importantly as a tool for organising. Hackney Unites is about pulling together communities and organising for the better of all that live and work in the borough. That's why we have produced our latest tabloid and why we are putting on our community organising event on 22 September – to Inspire Hackney!



Working with the Sikh community

FOLLOWING OUR ARTICLE last month exposing attempts by the English Defence League to form an alliance with hardline anti-Muslim Sikhs, HOPE not hate has had a number of meetings with organisations that work within the Sikh community. Among them were Aik Saath, based in Slough, and the Turban Campaign.

Over the next few months HOPE not hate will be working closely with both organisations.

Murals

By Sam Tarry

THE BNP might have lost its last councillor on Burnley council in May but there is no letting up for the local HOPE not hate team.

Owing to the death of Labour councillor Tony Lambert there will be a by-election in Trinity ward on 13 September. The National Front (NF), British National Party (BNP) and UKIP are standing. The NF have already been out campaigning, distributing an anti-BNP leaflet.

While the far-right vote is likely to be split we are taking nothing for granted. HOPE not hate will be out leafleting in the ward and we aim to use this election as a dress rehearsal for both the police commissioner elections in November and the County Council elections next May.

HOPE not hate is in talks with Hackney Methodist church over the use of a large wall in Stoke Newington High Street. This is a fantastic location and is on one of the busiest roads going through the borough.

We are hoping to involve a local arts charity and Hackney Community College to ensure that this is a local project that involves local people.

Delivering HOPE

HOPE not hate is beginning a two-year community organising project in the West Midlands that will assist and empower local communities and build resilience to the politics of hatred. Owen Jones explains how this project is already underway on the Wren's Nest and Priory estates in Dudley.

Built in the 1930s, the neighbouring estates of Wren's Nest and Priory in North Dudley were championed as a fantastic new living space for the working class of the Dudley inter-town slums. Running water, indoor toilets and front and back gardens, this was an extremely desirable place to live, with views over Dudley Castle and backing onto the beautiful Priory Park and its 13th Century ruins. Unfortunately, this new golden age was short lived and before long crime and poverty took a strangle hold on the area. Fast forward seventy years, and the future looked grim for the North Dudley estates of Wren's Nest and Priory.

Already ranked as the poorest and most deprived region of Dudley Borough – and among the 7% most deprived areas in England – as well as propping up the bottom of the tables for employment, education and crime, Wren's Nest and Priory had both become very isolated communities. The area was considered to be “hard-to-let” (the worst houses in a borough that is general regarded as quite poor), and when the government introduced funding for councils to house refugees and asylum seekers in their regions, Dudley Metropolitan Borough Council jumped at the chance to upgrade some of the more run down homes on the estates. In an area that had a history of racial unrest, this only fanned the flames of discontent and envy.



Priory Park's ancient ruins are a local landmark

Scapegoating migrants

The government, rightly, set basic living standards for these refurbished homes to adhere to. These were not astronomical standards and only required the houses to be furnished with the most basic of white goods. However, these were living standards that were higher than what many of the families on the estates were enjoying. Locals seeing new fridges, a television and a new sofa being delivered believed that the local council was more concerned with looking after the migrants than the established community. This played straight into the hands of the far-right groups.

Instead of looking at their own lives and reflecting on how to improve the area, such as doing something about the levels of litter, youths drinking, other minor social problems it was far easier to listen to the arguments presented from the fringes that they were being treated as second class citizens. Groups such as the National Front, British National Party and the British Movement were quick to plant the seeds of hate. Flyering the area and plastering their propaganda on

streets signs across the estates. The BNP, the most prominent of the far-right activists, had a clear message. Vote for them and they will get the migrants off the estate.

Although asylum seekers and refugees only accounted for 23 out of the 5,000 households on the estates, this was a message that appealed to many locals. In 2003, Simon Darby was elected as the BNP Councillor for the area. Racial tension continued to grow and came to a head in 2010 when the English Defence League descended on the city twice to protest against the proposed building of a large mosque in Dudley. It was a protest that gained a sizeable support from the locals. However, this is not a story of doom and gloom.

Have race relations improved significantly in the area since? The short answer is no. However, the area is far more prepared to deal with the threat of the far-right than it was a decade ago. The communities on the estates are far more organised and there have emerged some leading groups that are trying to instil a sense of renewed community pride, and HOPE not hate are emerging as a key part of this development.

in Dudley



Delivering hope
The work HOPE not hate is carrying out in these areas certainly faces many challenges and considerable obstacles. However, although the work is still in its infancy, the community is beginning to work together to make the neighbourhood a nicer place to live. The work in these estates since the beginnings of this project has focused on developing substantive relationships and partnerships with other organisations already working locally and identifying key residents who will hopefully go on to become HOPE not hate Community Champions. It is our intention that the Community Champions will really pioneer the work of HOPE not hate within the local community and will be essential for the long-term sustainability of the work conducted through this project.

HOPE not hate have teamed up with the Dudley Centre for Equality and Diversity to hold a "Youth Brunch" on the Wren's Nest estate, which will provide young adults with a free breakfast and get them temporarily off the streets for an afternoon where they would otherwise risk the temptations of alcohol, drugs and crime, as well ensuring they have a balanced cooked meal. The main aim of this event is to allow the youth of the estate an informal and relaxed environment in which to air their grievances about life on the estate and what they would like to see improved. The benefits for this

project are twofold. Firstly, and critically, it will highlight those individuals who may become local "Community Champions", those who hold influence over others within the neighbourhood and can promote the campaign on the streets and to the estate "gangs". Secondly, both HOPE not hate and the Centre for Equality and Diversity will be able to use the feedback from the attendees to shape future activities on the estate. Activities that hopefully the youth will find attractive and engaging that will entice them off the streets, away from the drink and remove some of the traditional networks that the far-right have used on the estate to garner support. The Community Champions are essential to the success of these activities.

Empowering local people
It is important that the locals feel empowered to run the sessions and have a sense of ownership over the activities, something which is missing in many of their lives – ambition and drive. It is hoped that this project will go on to include the work of the West Midlands Young Advisors, a group of young people from the estates



The first edition of the Wrens Nest and Priory tabloid

that have volunteered their time to develop *Security Circles*, a forum of young residents who hope to provide a proactive response to anti-social behaviour in the area and have already expressed an interest in working with HOPE not hate to tackle racial discrimination and homophobia in the area. However, the real long-term campaigning goal of such activities is that they will facilitate the introduction of the migrant communities into mainstream life on the estate.

HOPE not hate has been working hard to develop the trust and confidence of the migrant families within the estate through meeting with influential figures within their community and a series of home visits. By introducing the migrant community to the rest of the residents on the estates over a mutual passion for sport, or similar, it is hoped that the cultural barriers that are one of the primary causes of tension and trouble on the estate can be broken down.

The main aim of HOPE not hate on these estates is to become a catalyst for community engagement. HOPE not hate cannot be on the estates forever and the work will only be successful in creating a less isolated, more proud community by empowering local groups to get behind the project and share our enthusiasm for a harmonious, peaceful, modern Britain.

Why I choose HOPE no

By **Chris Tansley**, UNISON President

Every year UNISON elects a new President who has a small budget to fund a charity or project of their choice. When I was elected President in June I didn't hesitate in deciding that HOPE not hate was to be my choice for the year. I will be urging UNISON branches and members to get involved and support the work of HOPE not hate.

The reason I didn't hesitate is that I believe that it's never been more important to send out a message to racist bigots that their intolerance and racist abuse is not welcome by the majority in this country.

HOPE not hate has become one of the largest and most successful political action groups in the country. Their constant and localised campaigning, often alongside UNISON members, has seen the BNP defeated in many of its heartlands, most notably in Barking and Dagenham in 2010, Stoke on Trent in 2011 and Burnley in 2012.

HOPE not hate doesn't just campaign against far-right political parties. For many of its supporters, it has become something far more important, in that it encapsulates a vision of how people should respect one another. HOPE stands for decency, tolerance, fairness and togetherness. Hate represents division, fear, intolerance and superiority.

UNISON has a long history of fighting for equality inside the union. We first introduced our self-organised structures when we were founded and have a strong and thriving Black member's organisation. We have also supported many equality events in our communities whether it be celebrations of multiculturalism or Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Pride events or disability campaigns. We have also put all our efforts into ensuring that we campaign hard against members of the BNP who stand for local or national elections.

I'm also proud that in my year as President we introduced rules at our national conference to be able to expel from membership anyone who is a member of the BNP, National Front or similar racist and fascist group or party.

The effects of this coalition Government's attacks on public services, and attacks on those unable to find work or claiming other benefits because of their disabilities, has been to create a climate of intolerance and divisions within our communities. Racist hatred is part of that intolerance and cannot be allowed to take hold.

When people are under attack – as they are now – by the economic and social policies of this Government



t hate



Trade Union Friends



HOPE not hate

**Affiliate to Trade
Union Friends
of HOPE not hate
and get involved**

they sometimes try to find scapegoats to blame in their communities. The BNP, EDL and other racist and fascist organisations feed on peoples' fears and encourage racist intolerance.

I am a firm believer that the British are broadly a tolerant nation and that multiculturalism has enriched us all as a society.

I have fought against racism and fascism all my adult life, from a young man in my 20s when I joined rallies against the National Front in London in the 1970s and through my local and national work as a trade union activist in UNISON.

I am also pleased to have been a school governor in an area of Nottingham with a large multi-ethnic community where around 80% of the children are black and many come to our nursery and primary school with English as a second language. I have been so impressed with the work of all the staff at the school to develop a multi-cultural school that achieves such good results for the children that I'm still there after over 20 years.

I applaud the work that HOPE not hate has done and is doing as part of that fight and am proud that they have agreed to be my sponsored project for my Presidential year.

Affiliation rates per year:

- Branch/Region £50
- Local TUCs £50

National trade unions

- Membership below 100,000 £100
- 100,000-500,000 members £200
- Over 500,000 members £300

Your details

Trade Union /
Branch name

Name

Address

Postcode

Email

PAY BY STANDING ORDER

Dear Bank Manager, I want to make an annual donation to HOPE not hate £ _____ until further notice, starting immediately, please debit the account below.

Your bank details

Bank name

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Postcode

Account no

Sort code

Signature

Date

Pay HOPE not hate (Account No 81322729, Sort Code 40-17-45, HSBC,
183 Moulsham Street, Chelmsford, CM2 0LH)

Alternatively you can become a TU friend of HOPE not hate by enclosing a cheque made payable to HOPE not hate

PLEASE RETURN TO: HOPE not hate, PO Box 67476, London NW3 9RF.

Tasks for trade unionists



At this month's TUC Congress, in Brighton, history is being made. Frances O'Grady becomes General Secretary-Designate of the British Trade Union Congress, the first woman in the organisation's 144 year history to do so. *Ruth Smeeth* met with her to talk about the challenges faced by the wider labour movement and her new role.

Photo: Sarah Turton

What does it mean to you to be the first female General Secretary of the TUC?

It's a real opportunity to nail the stereotype that has been outdated for decades. Trade Union membership is 50/50 male/female and we've many fantastic women representing members up and down the country. I may be the first female General Secretary of the TUC but we've always had strong women at the top of our movement.

Who inspired you on your journey to becoming a leader in the labour movement?

Inspiration is important; I much prefer the concept of human beings, as a collective, inspiring people, rather than single role models. No-one gets anywhere in any movement or organisation on their own and solely on merit.

I was introduced to the labour movement by reading the works of James Connolly, which still inspire me. As a young female trade union officer at the T&G I think I was most influenced by Margaret Prosser (now Baroness Prosser of Battersea). Margaret was always very clear, no one person is worth more or less than anyone else.

But the real inspiration throughout my career has come from my family, from my sisters who were both TU reps and my brother who was a miner during the strike.

What do you see as the role of women within the wider labour movement and what do you want to do to encourage female members to take on leadership roles?

I am not complacent about gender balance and representation, but there have been big changes. The General Council of the TUC is now 40% female. I am not the first woman leader of the TUC, we've had women in leadership roles for 90 years including many Presidents. Other institutions can and should take a leaf out of our book. But that isn't to say that we don't have more to do.

I set up the Organising Academy when I joined the TUC and organising and recruitment remains a key priority for the movement. The Academy enabled us to reach out to different types of people who may not have previously thought about trade unions. It continues to bring in fresh blood, energy and imagination. Two thirds of the first generation of graduates from the Academy were women. The TUC also trains over 50,000 reps every year, nearly half of whom are women.

What are your priorities as General Secretary as the TUC heads towards its 150th anniversary?

We need to make sure that we are relevant to people's lives and that we are campaigning on issues which really matter to them.

The biggest issue for us will be trying to get the Conservative-led government to change direction from this self-defeating austerity course. We have to challenge the issue of pay stagnation which is depressing consumer demand.

We also have to tackle the issue of youth unemployment head on; the picture remains bleak both in terms of under-employment (having one or more part time jobs) and long term unemployment.

We also need to have a fundamental review of the banking system. This crash was caused by their actions, not the six million public sector workers who are

Inspiration is important; I much prefer the concept of human beings, as a collective, inspiring people, rather than single role models.

now shouldering the cuts. We also need a new green industries and general industrial strategy which focuses on the role of the real economy, not least manufacturing.

I want us to use all tools at our disposal to re-engage as a movement. I want to make sure that we turn the incredible public support we have for an alternative to the cuts into new members and new talent.

What impact do you think the cuts are going to have on communities across the country?

We are already seeing the massive impact on communities across the country. You don't need a PhD in history to know that cuts combined with high unemployment create the ideal conditions for fascist groups to thrive. We need a broad alliance to make sure that this doesn't happen and the innovative campaigning work of HOPE not hate is crucial.

The trade union movement has a good track record in standing up to fascists, but we need to be on alert

that events could become ugly, very quickly. That's why the TUC's campaign – a future that works – is so important. We need to make it clear that public servants or hard working families aren't the villains that created this economic mess. But we also need to give people hope and confidence in a different approach where we can all have a fairer share, a meaningful job and decent housing. Achievable policies for a better future.

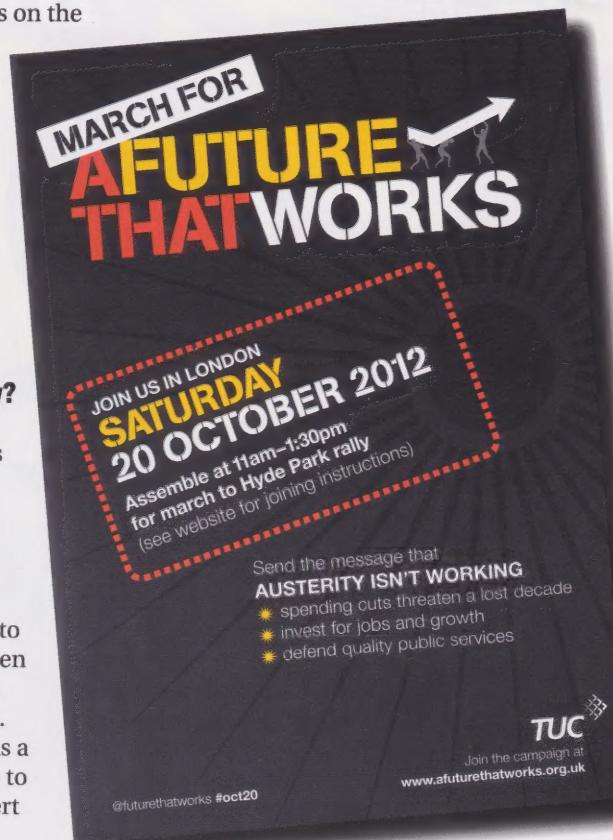
You spoke at the 75th anniversary of Cable Street last year, what did it mean to you?

It was a genuine honour. It is really important to remember our history and celebrate our achievements. The day gave me a boost and I think reminded everyone there that we are one community and when our backs are against the wall the last thing we should do is give comfort to our enemies by falling out. Unity is priceless.

And your message to HOPE not hate supporters and activists?

The work of the HOPE not hate campaign has been extraordinary and incredibly important. I want to thank you all for the hard work that you have done as part of our bigger movement. You have been on the front line in the fight against fascism and we stand shoulder to shoulder with you. The next few years are going to get tougher and your work will continue to be vital.

I also hope that you will join us on October 20th on our national march.



"The work of the HOPE not hate campaign has been extraordinary and incredibly important. I want to thank you all for the hard work that you have done as part of our bigger movement. The next few years are going to get tougher and your work will continue to be vital."

FRANCES O'GRADY
General Secretary-elect, TUC

"We back HOPE not hate's positive and optimistic outlook and applaud the way it involves music, culture and sport to expose the evil attitudes of the far right. We will win support by celebrating the richness that diversity offers our society as well as condemning the bigots who seek to destroy it."

MICK WHELAN
General Secretary, ASLEF

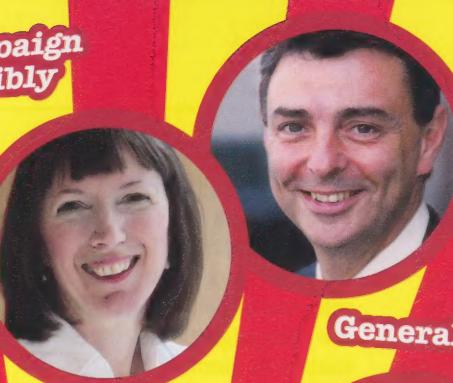
"I'd like to express my support for HOPE not hate's campaign against racism and fascism and my admiration for its role in organising support for the Spanish miners."

CHRIS KITCHEN
General Secretary,
National Union of
Mineworkers.

"HOPE not hate's inspired campaigning is the triumph of decency over prejudice, bringing together good people and exposing the poison of racists."

This year the London 2012 Olympics was a multicultural success. HOPE not hate fights that good fight every year."

KEVIN MAGUIRE
Associate Editor Daily Mirror



"UNISON is proud to continue working with the HOPE not hate campaign, bringing our communities together in the face of those who seek to divide us."

DAVE PRENTIS
General Secretary, Unison



"I support HOPE not hate because they are at the forefront of the campaign against fascism and work actively with trade unions."

STEVE HEDLEY
Deputy General
Secretary, RMT



"The need to organise against the fascists will never go away and so GMB will continue its work with Trade Union Friends of HOPE not hate and continue its total opposition and intolerance to all forms of hatred."

PAUL KENNY
General Secretary,
GMB



"Racists and fascists cannot be allowed to peddle their pernicious messages unchallenged. For that reason, the work of HOPE not hate and other organisations which promote and celebrate diversity is incredibly important. The union is proud of its affiliation to Trade Union Friends of HOPE not hate at a national level. I would urge local divisions and associations of the NUT to consider local affiliation."

CHRISTINE BLOWER
General Secretary, NUT

Trade Union Friends
of HOPE not hate
Affiliate now, page 45